Daily Report

East Europe

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Letter to UN Protests U.S. 'Discrimination'

AU2907102988 Sofia BTA in English
0936 GMT 29 Jul 88

["Protest of the Socialist Countries at the UN"—BTA headline]

[Text] New York City, July 29 (BTA)—A letter of the permanent representatives of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia to the UN secretary general was circulated as an official document at the UN General Assembly. It reveals new illegal and discriminational measures of the U.S. authorities directed against the normal work of the permanent missions of these countries.

Among the latest such measures was the request for the officials of these missions to inform the U.S. authorities of the routes of their travels and the addresses of the places they spend the night. A proof of the growing discriminational approach to some countries, above all the socialist ones, is the request for their representatives to use the services of the bureau for servicing foreign missions in making train, flight and hotel reservations.

Stressing the totally unprovoked, arbitrary and ungrounded nature of these actions, the representatives of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia appeal to the UN secretary general to insist before the U.S. authorities for the cancelling of these illegal discriminational measures as soon as possible.

Polish Weekly on Differences in CEMA, Bloc

AU2907111688 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC
in Polish 17 Jul 88 pp 1, 8

[Piotr Olejnik article: "Friendship, Brotherhood, and Interests—New Signposts"]

[Excerpts] The flood of information carried by our press about socialist countries in the past few months tells us primarily about the reforms in some of these countries, about the great cause of Soviet restructuring, about Hungarian changes, about economic troubles of real socialism, and about ways of curbing or eliminating these troubles. The authors of these reports, including myself, most often deal with the internal matters in socialist countries and pay little or no attention to mutual relations between these countries and to trends in these relations. If they write anything about these relations, then we are condemned to reading the usual dithyrambs on friendship, brotherhood, cooperation, political unity, unshakable alliance, and so on, and so forth. In a word, such writings stick to the hackneyed style that has been practiced for dozens and dozens of years, that readers mistrust, and that is completely out of tune with the atmosphere of reforms, changes, restructuring, and openness which now rule the roost east of the Elbe. [passage omitted]

One cannot escape noticing that present changes, reforms, restructuring, democratization, and openness in the countries of real socialism also continue to influence relations within the socialist community and that important transformations in most socialist countries are behind the new signposts in their policy toward foreign countries and the socialist allies. [passage omitted]

Let me discuss this issue in the Marxist way, that is, beginning with the base—with the economic relations inside the socialist community. Someone may say: I know all this—CEMA, integration, cooperation, specialization, mutually advantageous collaboration, and assistance. Yes, I agree, but there are also other issues to be discussed. What interests us is not hackneyed slogans, but new things, those that are signposts pointing to the future.

One such new thing is the following sentence of the resolution passed by the MSZMP conference last May: "It is for the sake of the most speedy improvements in CEMA cooperation that we attach special importance to further developing trade and fiscal relations and the system of economic mechanisms." [passage omitted] This formulation means that it is necessary for CEMA to devise genuine economic links based on genuine economic parameters and on cost effectiveness analyses. What counts is not barter, quantity calculations, quota restrictions, and limits on goods deliveries. What counts is a genuine, socialist market possessing all market mechanisms and determining factors as well as money that fulfills all the functions expected of money. Only then will it be possible to talk about true socialist integration.

This is Hungary's view, and Poland is in favor of it, but it is no secret that quite a few CEMA countries are not much in favor of basing CEMA cooperation on true market and economic mechanisms. [passage omitted] The general line of division on this issue runs between the countries promoting radical economic reform and those that stick rather to the old command economy and to administrative orders. Romania is being mentioned as the foremost country in this category. Is there a conflict of interest? Just let anyone tell me that there is no conflict! [passage omitted]

That such conflicts exist is also attested to by the following passage from N. Shmelov's article published by NOVIY MIR last April: "The debts owed us by some socialist countries have not lapsed, so we could encourage these countries to greatly increase the supplies of their consumer goods for our country needs." It is common knowledge that there is a painful shortage of goods in the Soviet market and that this shortage does not attract many supporters to perestroyka and glasnost. The Soviet market requires crucial improvements in the flow of goods for political reasons as well. Why not achieve these improvements by supplies from the socialist countries, including Poland, which are the USSR's

debtors? That this would deprive these countries' domestic markets of consumer goods, although these markets are not too rich, is just another matter. But one's interest is one's interest, and it is as important as friendship and brotherhood.

The same thing can be said about the efforts of some CEMA members to change the present CEMA method of fixing of prices for raw materials, especially crude oil. That method of progressive prices based on the mean world prices in the past 5 years does not reflect the ups and downs of the international economic situation, especially the dropping of oil prices in the past few years.

Such and many similar discussions are continuing, and it seems that the only reasonable solution is to base CEMA cooperation on genuine economic mechanisms, a genuine socialist market, and genuine money. All other measures are hardly effective efforts to temporarily stop various gaps. [passage omitted]

As for political issues, the most glaring one has been some erosion of Hungarian-Romanian relations because of the situation of some 2 million Hungarians living in Nicolae Ceausescu's country. [passage omitted] This Hungarian minority, living mostly in the Romanian part of Transylvania, continues to send increasingly alarming messages to Budapest about the difficulties it encounters in daily living.

This problem, in which the Hungarian authorities are taking a special interest, continues to create great concern in Hungary.

At the same time, increasing waves of visitors from Romania continue to arrive in Hungary because they want to settle down in the land of their fathers, and the Hungarian people continue to donate funds for this resettlement. [passage omitted]

That Hungarian-Romanian dispute is no doubt the most serious one within the socialist community, but there are also other disputes. At the regional accountability-election conference of the CPCZ in Ostrava last May, Henryk Kiedron, member of the Ostrava Region CPCZ Committee and functionary of the Polish Cultural Society, listed cases in which the principle that two languages should be allowed to be used in the localities inhabited by national minorities had been violated. He also stressed that the subsidy for the society had been reduced. [passage omitted]

Of course, that dispute is a far cry from the Hungarian-Romanian dispute, but it does demonstrate certain contradictions in the relations within our community. As for our relations with Czechoslovakia, it is also worth recalling the pollution of the Odra by Czechoslovak mazout [industrial oil] and the fuss created about this pollution. I think that even 10 years before that pollution nothing would have been said about it.

Tourism and small tourist "trade" are an old problem, but it acquired special publicity not so long ago, and some countries are trying to combat it in a drastic way and even with the help of all sorts of sophisticated means. We still vividly remember how the Hungarians decreed that only Polish tourists had to pay special deposits in cash on entering the country [to prevent them from smuggling various articles] and how much bad blood this decision created. We also remember the many articles and official statements about the Hungarian and Yugoslav tourists engaging in illicit trading in Poland. [passage omitted]

Not so long RUDE PRAVO cited TASS on the bad treatment of the CSSR tourists in the USSR in that the Soviet side failed to honor the tourist accord, provided bad services, failed to supply guides, and allotted uninteresting tourist routes. All this took place against the background of utmost efforts to please tourists from the capitalist countries and to meet the demands of the capitalist travel bureaus. It is no exaggeration to say that such is the treatment of all the tourists within our community and not only of those Czechoslovak tourists.

We should repeat once again that all those conflicts and clashes do not undermine and displace the friendship and traditional cooperation of the socialist countries in the same way as restructuring and reforms do not amount to reprivatizing the basic means of production or to the abandonment of power by the workers' parties. But this does not mean that we should ignore the possible consequences of those conflicts and disputes and of the features accompanying them.

Two issues are interesting among those features: The increased interest of individual socialist states in the traditional, prewar lines of their cooperation with foreign countries; and the appearance within our community of a kind of opposition which seems to become bolder and bolder of appropriating the slogans of friendship and brotherhood developed and realized by the workers' parties in the countries of people's democracy since World War II. These two issues are of great significance for the future of relations within the socialist community and certainly deserve to be thoroughly analyzed on some other occasion. Such analysis is inevitable.

For example, we must realize the meaning of the rehabilitation and expansion of Hungary's relations with Austria, the FRG or Great Britain, with which, in terms of history, the Hungarians have had special links. We must realize that the two German states continue to tighten their economic ties and we must be aware of the consequences of this process. Finally, we must realize the possible consequences of some more extensively coordinated dissident-oppositional actions taken throughout the community. After all, the development of modern means of communication makes such a prospect feasible.

Writing about those issues, I do not in any way intend to weaken all ties that link the countries of real socialism in all spheres. On the contrary, I think that a more profound analysis of the aforementioned issues can only help to strengthen and improve these ties. Those issues should be part and parcel of our thinking about mutual relations within our community. This is the indispensable addition to the new thinking about socialism in general and a kind of external supplement to restructuring, reforms, and openness.

Soviet-GDR Army Exercise Planned For 8-14 Aug

LD0108130788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1232 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 1 Aug (ADN)—A joint troop exercise of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the GDR National People's Army will take place as planned for 8 to 14 August 1988 in the Burg, Jessen, Luebbenau, Teupitz, and Luckenwalde region. Taking part in the exercise will be up to 14,500 members of the two fraternal armies. The exercise will be led by a deputy of the GSFG commander in chief.

In accordance with the annual plan for 1988 military activities, this allied armies troop exercise was announced to all signatory states of the Stockholm Document on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

Crop Plan Fulfillment Jeopardized By Drought

AU0108115788 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Jul 88 p 1

[Article by Engineer Ondrej Vanek, candidate of sciences, minister of agriculture and food of the Czech SR: "The 1988 Harvest"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] This year is exceptionally demanding, if for no other reason than because of the unfavorable climatic conditions and severe drought in April and May, which damaged the growth of, in particular, spring cereal crops, sugar beets, flax, feed crops, field vegetables, and fruit. The scope of damage to crops by drought is greatest in Central Bohemia, East Bohemia, and South Moravia. Even though substitute sowing, mostly of corn, was carried out on plots where the crops did not sprout, the fulfillment of the planned production of cereal crops is seriously jeopardized. As for the planned composition of individual types of cereal crops from this year's harvest, it will not be ensured either. This concerns, for example, the required production of rye and malt barley in the needed quality. The considerable area on which sugar beets were plowed back into the ground because they did not sprout—about 35,000 hectares—will negatively affect the meeting of planned sugar exports and, thereby, the sugar refineries' general economic situation.

A number of measures have been taken since spring to alleviate the impact of adverse climatic conditions on overall crop production. The availability of sufficient stocks of seeds of cereal and feed crops from previous years has made it possible to carry out without delay substitute sowing on fields under spring barley, sugar beets, and perennial feed crops that had to be plowed back into the ground. We expect that the increased sowing of grain corn and silage corn—the planned areas were exceeded by roughly 1,500 hectares and 8,000 hectares respectively—could at least partly improve the final result of the total harvest of grain crops. [passage omitted]

A very serious problem which persists is the shortage of adequate storage facilities. Despite the construction of many new grain silos and hangar-type storage facilities in agricultural enterprises, current storage capacity covers neither our need nor the planned production of grain crops. To be able to store just the planned production of cereal crops, pulses, corn, oil-bearing crops, and other small-seed crops, we would need extra storage capacity for 1.5 million tonnes. Meanwhile, we are therefore compelled to use makeshift facilities and to rent covered but also reinforced free-standing premises from enterprises of other sectors, which represents capacity for around 340,000 tonnes. The need to store cereal crops in these makeshift facilities and, often, to repeatedly relocate and transport grain to many different places also accounts for considerable losses, in the quality and quantity of the grain stored as well as in the economy in general. [passage omitted]

Pitra Notes 'Apprehensions' on Farm Restructuring

AU0108145088 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Jul 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, by ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY staff journalist O. Tulach: "The Vanguard of Economic Restructuring"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Tulach] In less than 6 months, the agricultural and food system will begin operating under the conditions of restructuring in its economic mechanisms. What progress has been made to prepare for these conditions?

[Pitra] We have made marked progress in agriculture. The laws on agricultural cooperatives and on state enterprises are in effect. We are currently implementing the first stage of restructuring the technical production base. A total of 192 state enterprises have been established by 1 July. At the same, intensive preparations are underway to set up self-managing bodies and to elect directors. Intensive work is also being done on the second stage of restructuring, which will go into effect on 1 January 1989. [passage omitted]

From the very beginning of the work on restructuring, we have striven on various occasions to provide information in accordance with the party, state, and economic-policy line at meetings and consultations on how the work on restructuring is proceeding, and on what partial results have been achieved to date. At the same time, we have also been acquiring numerous, and very often practical opinions, on the solution of individual issues concerning restructuring. This frank approach has also revealed a number of problems. So far, familiarity with the entire complex of instruments has been lacking, and, in some respects, still is. [sentence as published] Therefore, up until now many agricultural enterprises have been drawing conclusions only from some partial steps. Also, the fact must not be ignored that here and there—as a consequence of a lack of knowledge—various apprehensions have arisen. [passage omitted]

[Tulach] Comrade Secretary, in your opinion, what is of exceptional importance in the current stage?

[Pitra] I consider an extensive campaign to explain the entire system and to acquaint oneself with it in detail as being one of the most necessary steps of restructuring. It is not enough to merely acquaint oneself with the fundamental principles; it is necessary to learn literally every detail of the new mechanism. This will have a positive effect only when all instruments are operating throughout the entire system. In some places it will even be necessary to dispel eventual concern. [passage omitted]

Ever since work on restructuring began, it has frequently been asked whether it is correct to interfere with a system that, until now, has been expedient, and has contributed to a situation where our agriculture has become the stabilizing factor in the national economy. There also is no dearth of views about whether it is correct to exchange relative certainties for the potential risks that comprehensive restructuring will bring. There is another related question: Why is it necessary to adopt unified principles in the national economy, and why start in agriculture 2 years before the other branches? [passage omitted]

One of the reasons why starting 2 years earlier is possible is that certain principles have already been tested in agriculture—principles on which the entire restructuring of our national economy as a whole is based. It would be a pity not to make use of that experience and those advantages in comprehensively applying restructuring throughout the entire national economic system.

[Tulach] In the agricultural sphere, views still exist according to which restructuring will cause a disproportional draining of resources from agriculture through new levies on wages and profits. Are these concerns substantiated?

[Pitra] Such views have existed and still do exist. However, they do not correspond to reality. I want to stress that there will be no essential change in agriculture's relationship to the state budget. [passage omitted] However, it is understandable that the economic conditions for enterprises will become tougher. It would be illogical to expect the opposite. The mechanism is aimed at exerting pressure toward more economical production. This pressure as well as its intensity originate from the parameters established in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. [passage omitted]

[Tulach] Comrade Secretary, there is still a lot of talk about assigning agricultural enterprises to economic production categories. What can you say about this?

[Pitra] This is understandable because the amount of land tax or supplementary payments will be determined by this. How agricultural enterprises are classified will have a considerable economic impact. I must say that the central authorities, as the popular saying goes, did not remain "deaf" to the recommendations that were raised in this sphere. We reacted to many things. A number of corrections were carried out in methodology, and we took into account—according to individual criteria—regions affected by emissions, zones of protected water resources, the proportion of permanent sward fund [drnovy fond], border areas, and other factors. On the other hand, it was necessary to turn down attempts by some enterprises to egoistically gain unjustified advantages from the classification. [passage omitted]

Pollution Control Hampered By Tardy Supplies

LD2807173488 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, made a working visit to the power station complex in Tusimice. He expressed interest in the progress of constructing the desulphurization unit at the Tusimice-2 power station, which will use the Soviet magnesite method to desulphurize smoke gases. The main problems are caused by late supplies of equipment parts and connecting material, which does not demonstrate adequate responsibility on the part of the contractors on this investment project. This unit will make a significant contribution to improving the atmosphere in the North Bohemian area.

Greetings Sent To Polish Leaders on National Day
AU2507095488 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz, and Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, sent a telegram of congratulations to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council, and Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the occasion of Poland's national day, the 44th anniversary of Poland's rebirth.

Istvan Stadinger, chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly also sent a telegram of congratulations to his counterpart Roman Malinowski, speaker of the PPR Sejm.

Trade Talks With Romania Termed 'Satisfactory'
LD0208012988 Budapest MTI in English 0917 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 1, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungarian deputy minister for trade, Mr Imre Dunai has visited Bucharest where he discussed the fulfilment of deliveries stipulated in the 1988 Hungarian-Romanian trade protocol and the preparation of next year's trade agreement.

The negotiating parties termed the two countries' commercial contacts as developing satisfactorily, with both countries adhering to their contractual obligations.

In 1987 Hungarian-Romanian trade totalled 618 million roubles which was less than the planned level.

Principal Romanian export items to Hungary are engineering products (accounting for 60 per cent of the total) and Dacia Cars.

The value of Hungarian export was 7.987 billion forints ($160.3 million) and of import 8.517 billion forints ($170.3 million) in 1987.

This year's trade figure is expected to be 650 million roubles, 5 per cent more than last year.

CPSU's Georgiy Smirnov Arrives For Talks
LD0108100988 Budapest MTI in English 0907 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, Aug 1 (MTI)—On the invitation of the Central Committee of the HSWP, Georgiy Smirnov, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the Central Committee of the CPSU, arrived in Budapest on Monday. The guest was received at the Ferihegy Airport by Csaba Tabajdi, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department at the Central Committee. Present was Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the USSR to Hungary.

Georgiy Smirnov, who is president of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society, is to hold talks on the cooperation between the academic institutes of the HSWP and the CPSU, and he is to study the work of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society.

USSR Southern Group Head Meets Friendship Group
LD0208014588 Budapest MTI in English 1808 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 1 (MTI)—Brigadier-General Matvey Burlakov the new commander of the Soviet Southern Army group, stationed temporarily in Hungary, made an introductory call at the headquarters of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society (HSFS). Antal Apro, the chairman of the society briefed him and his party on the country's situation. Burlakov underlined the importance of the mutual information and praised the balanced relations between the Hungarian and Soviet Armed Forces.

People's Control Commission Holds Session
AU2507173788 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Jul 88 p 4

[Correspondent's report: "Central People's Control Commission Holds Meeting—Six Complex Inspections To Be Carried Out in the Second Half of the Current Annual Plan"]

[Text] The Central People's Control Commission [KNEB] held a meeting on 22 July. At the meeting there were reports on several investigations carried out by the commission: implementation of the principle of necessity in the councils' social policy practice; local opportunities and results of measures aimed at improving the mood of the population; measures aimed at replacing non-ruble imports and their implementation; and the situation of housing management in view of the experiences of various investigations. The KNEB discussed and approved the reports, and decided to submit them to the Council of Ministers.

The body then approved the program of examining the rational application of financial means aimed at developing and maintaining the local councils' network of roads, and the work plan for the second half of the current year.

The work plan contains six nationwide subjects of investigation. New among these subjects is the complex examination of sanctions aimed at eliminating functional disturbances in economic life, among other things, of economic sanctions, market inspection and price supervision measures, and environmental protection fines. The KNEB will carry out these investigations with the

cooperation of several ministries and organizations with nationwide authority. The main purpose of the investigation is to find out why the entire system of sanctions does not have enough effect on eliminating economic disturbances.

At the request of a National Assembly deputy, the KNEB will examine the difficulties of selling state-owned apartments in Budapest and five other county towns. Two separate investigations will deal with foreign economic activities: One of them will deal with CEMA cooperation, and the other with foreign trade transactions. A nationwide survey will investigate the results of the introduction of computer technology in general and in secondary schools.

In the second half of this year, the KNEB will ask the minister of transportation to provide a report on the effectiveness of funds allocated for maintaining and modernizing the national network of roads and on developing the transportation conditions of commuting.

Pozsgay Interviewed on Career, Politics

LD2807130788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1715 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Interview with Imre Poszgay by Akos Mester at the Radnoti Theater in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Mester] In these conversations, I ask politicians, writers, artists, about their careers, life, friends, loves. I am curious about their opinions, and also what lies behind their opinions. [passage omitted] Our guest, whom I have known, well, getting on for 15-20 years, is Imre Pozsgay. [applause]

You see we have a full house. How do you explain this great interest?

[Pozsgay] The roads are slippery, not many people have gone away for the weekend.

[Mester] I think this heightened expectation is due to your personality, naturally, but also probably due to the more tolerant, more democratic intellectual behavior which you represent, and which, I think, will necessarily accompany our political life in the coming period. I, at least, hope for this. And you?

[Pozsgay] I hope so, too. Moreover, poltitics will really have great need of tolerance, for it must collect believers. Nowadays, at a time when, amidst wavering confidence and many kinds of worries, people try to gain information, I feel they are looking for points of support, they are also looking for individuals whom they can trust.

I think you will put me to the test here today, for you referred earlier here to our having known each other for 15-20 years, and I have always come off badly in that respect. [laughter]

[Mester] I cannot stay silent about the fact that I suspect that it is not just your friends who are here. [laughter] I think that there are people here, too, who do not necessarily sympathize with you, in whom your activity at least awakens doubts, or perhaps those who simply would like to know more precisely where you stand: perhaps, just because they know that you exchange opinions willingly, also with those to whom you quite certainly do not belong. You understand, don't you?

[Pozsgay] I understand very well. And I would also add that I do not really believe in people who do not have opponents, in whom nobody has any doubts. These indifferent kinds of individuals, who always collect 100 percent votes are suspicious, in my view. And, I believe that I can do one thing this evening, if you will help me in this. Those who oppose me, or those who have doubts, should at least be able to be informed this evening. I do not even have so great a desire for esteem, that I should convince them of my truth.

[Mester] You should explain them, what it is which inspired you to, one can say systematically, stop and exchange opinions with those to whom you do not belong, to whom you do not wish to belong—it would not be logical if you became organized with them.

[Pozsgay] Let us not leave the question unclear here. I think those who know, can know a few things about my life—I do not know if there are many of these people. They know that I have committed myself to socialism, and I have been a member for 37 years now of that movement, that party, which believes that it can be the inspirer, the director of the movement which can give answers to people's questions.

This is harder to say today than 10 years ago; this, too, must be said. It is harder to say this because it is not certain that the successes justify this kind of profession of faith—or, I would rather say, the successes which are lagging behind.

This country has been struggling for quite a long time know, and a couple of generations have grown up here, who cannot really have any experience of socialism solving people's problems. Where would they have gained such experiences from? They have only met with crisis. In their conscious lives, between the relations of starting a career and struggling, they must also have seen that a country is starting to lose its faith in its own possibilities.

Well, so I say to you that what I have undertaken is something of even greater struggle. And, one more thing: I meet many kinds of people, this is my vocation. A person who is my opponent, or with whom I cannot agree, is also a member of this nation, this country, and if I can fight for something from this position, then it is also for him to have a voice, too.

So, I am confident—this does not refer to myself, but to the thought which I have—I believe that people can be convinced, and I believe that I, too, can take in the thoughts of others, and in this case, I am not disturbed by different thinking. Moreover, I condsider it a condition of freedom.

[Mester] I think there are people who think deep down in the same way as you. They also say or think that people can be convinced, they seek to do this, too, but there is one hitch—they do not have arguments for this, and this is a great problem.

[Pozsgay] Well, you can find people like this among my comrades, too—a good number. [laughter]

[Mester] Who do you think I am talking about? Well, of course, of course, I am talking about them. All right, I am sure we two will discuss this anyway, but let us go over to more personal matters. I wanted to clarify right at the start where you stand, so nobody can have any kind of doubt.

[Pozsgay] We have dealt with this.

[mester] Not quite, we will return to this. This is a biographical interview. If this were an official statement, we would call each other comrade, and of course use the polite form. It is my conviction of old that the pictures of people in public life in today's mass media in Hungary do not gain more credibility for the creation of a distance between the interviewer and the interviewee. My other problem is that this kind of public appearance can become a political force. People have often reproached you, that you gladly make public appearances. You were glad to come here, too, it can be said, at the first request.

[Pozsgay] Yes, I have convictions and a belief in that I am right, and it is good if as many people as possible know this. I think that a good policy is the one which gains its strength from its public nature and not from conspiracy or secretiveness. So I dare to undertake this, though not without some risks, I would add. And I also understand that in keeping the public at a distance there are reasons which are worth paying attention to. I see this reason primarily in the false openness of the fifties—and as you can see I am already preempting the biographic details—when those who accepted a leading role were subjected to cult-like respect and to false identificaton, a kind of mendacious relationship with the public, with the community. I also reject this mendacity, but I think our openness is such today, in spite of all its ills and distortions, that we can talk in front of one another with peace of mind. At least I think we can speak openly and with peace of mind tonight.

[Mester] I did not like the sentence: they were subjected to cult-like respect.

[Pozsgay] Because I phrased it badly.

[Mester] Because they demanded cult-like respect for themselves.

[Pozsgay] It was ia handful of people who proclaimed themselves as those with the brains and they regarded society, people, as children, as educational objects. [passage omitted]

[Mester] But believe me, Imre, that it may also happen that you will be warned: Comrade Pozsgay, you are not an actor. You come here to the Radnoti Theater. It is just as well that you are not dancing ballet, or something similar. Then you could also be asked why Comrade Pozsgay is performing in Lakitelek [venue of a semi-opposition gathering in September 1987], why not at the Central Committee session? So I think that if we want to talk honestly to each other—and we do, don't we—then we should not avoid these questions.

[Pozsgay] May I ask a question first?

[Mester] Of course.

[Pozsgay] Can I assume that other politicians will also come here?

[Mester] I do not know whether you can assume that, but I hope so.

[Pozsgay] Because that would mitigate my circumstances a great deal. [laughter] But I have to say that I like to decide myself to go somewhere of my own accord, at someone's invitation, at the invitation of some people. And in this it is far from the top of my priorities that I should meet people who profess the same views as myself, or that we should meet in an immaculate atmosphere of complete identity of views. If that were the case then everyone could go to an event organized by his own organizations, and that is very comfortable, very simple. [passage omitted]

[Mester] Someone might ask you: Tell us, dear Comrade Pozsgay, do you not spend too much time in intellectual circles?

[Pozsgay] Yes, and I would reply that it is very good to frequent intellectual circles because this is the social group where there is still a tremendous amount of self-discipline and readiness for agreement, for compromise. [applause] But I do not avoid contact with other social groups either. On such occasions, I have quite a disturbing time. [laughter] [passage omitted]

[Mester] If I think back to how difficult it was, after 1956, for many people to bring their lives back into the old routine, it is quite surprising that your career went straight upward. I must get out my notes—I wrote it down: you were in Kecskemet between 1957 and 1970, first as director of the evening university, and then you were department head, later secretary, of the county party committee. In 1970-71 you became the head of the

press sub-department, in the Central Committee in Budapest; then you went to TARSADALMI SZEMLE, where you worked as a deputy editor-in-chief. In the meantime, you gained a doctorate, you acquired a scientific title, you became a candidate, and my feeling then, already, was that for you, becoming a candidate was simultaneously a chance for you to turn away from public life.

If this is true—and you will deny or confirm it—then the question is why did it occur to you that an occasion might arise when you either want to turn away from public life, or you may be forced to do so?

[Pozsgay] This is not an easy question for me—it was very easy for you to ask. However, I shall say that I have never had the wish or intention to turn away from public life. But I have always counted on their turning me away from public life.

[Mester] Who?

[Pozsgay] Those who do not like what I represent and profess; they are shocked by it, or they consider it to be something which it is better to be free of. I always take this attitude into account in my life because, although I consider myself to be a person who is prepared to make compromises—I have also said that I am a man of division, as well—I live by the very simple saying that we should pour clean water into the glass, and I undertake the conduct associated with it. Thus, I can do what I do with greater safety, if I have a kind of background, than if there were to be no such background behind me. Here, I consider the scientific qualifications, the professional readiness and ability—or rather, I should say it more accurately—expertise, to be a case in point.

And something else: I do not believe that it is possible to get off scot-free in truly open public life, and I am not shocked at this. The essence, only, is that one should not fail. One is a kind of chance in battle; the other, in my view, is a moral issue. I consider a person who brings himself down to be one who has failed. However, a person who is dismissed is not a person who has failed. He has suffered a defeat.

[Mester] Yes. Good. Properly speaking, when you acquired the scientific degrees, what you expected did not happen—that they would turn you away from a career in public life. The opposite happened, because very suddenly, you became a deputy minister in the Ministry of Culture at that time, and then minister—you were minister for 6 years. And if you bring it up, I shall also ask whether, as a minister, you were dismissed or relieved?

[Pozsgay] No one said that I was dismissed. No such statement reached me from an official source. The form was that I was asked to be secretary general of the PPF. [laughter]

Good. However, I did not want to undertake this. I should also like to add this. This was not due to my underestimating the People's Front, but because I did not consider the request to be fair in a situation where I would have just had some tasks to do. That is when it would have been the time for education [as heard], because it was then that the ministries were merged and it became the Ministry of Culture and Education—education, as well, was put in there. So there should be no misunderstanding, as regards this, it was not the minister's seat, which I insisted on.

[Mester] who is there who... [laughter in the audience]

[Pozsgay—interrupting] It was not the minister's seat which I insisted on; I suggested that if there was a conflict here, I would go over to the university to teach, on the basis of my qualifications, and thus, the affair should become clear. Later, however, they persuaded me—after no small struggle—that what I might be able to do in the People's Front would be important.

[Mester] I remember that period. We met then, as well. Perhaps you do not remember our conversations at that time. You will tell me immediately if you think that I am remembering wrongly.

In my recollection, they tried to persuade you by saying this was an important constitutional honor. As I knew you, it was not very easy to dazzle you by this. In my view, as a ruse, you acted as if you had become a little dizzy from this honor, but in truth, you buckled down to work, to the greatest sorrow of those who only wanted you to treat this as an honor [laughter and applause in the audience]. The other thing is that at that time I told you that this People's Front—excuse me, perhaps we shall cut this out of the recording—was, in Hungarian political public life, a little like the nursery in the houses of the upper classes, that it was possible to play with vigor, very loudly there, it would not be heard in the drawing-room. [laughter and applause in the audience].

Then, you said something—I shall ask you whether you remember it, because if you do not, I shall tell you. [laughter] You said that the essence is not what the nursery is like, but what the child is like. [laughter]

[Pozsgay] That is how it was. [laughter]

[Mester] So how did you get to work? Because that People's Front was not the same as this People's Front.

[Pozsgay] It was interesting. [laughter] The process of becoming aware was interesting. A worker in the family, who is an outspoken type, said that this was now a position like the ribboned-hat which I raise to greet people on holidays. And this hurt my feelings a bit. I tried to put some of it in order. That is what my activity in the People's Front meant.

However, to turn the conversation to its genuine political substance, in a political system where one sole political party performs the guiding functions it is not possible to live in a situation in which most of the citizens are second-class citizens and do not take part in public life. This situation cannot be accepted by any political movement, by any political trend, and I hope that the entire party movement also thinks in this manner.

In this case, the People's Front cannot be a kind of side-scene, or—I shall say something even worse—a fig-leaf. There is sense in the whole thing only if it is is an arena for partnership and open movement in public life, a means of expression for the most various interests and for the endeavors associated with them. I attempted to represent this, I attempted to do this in the Patriotic People's Front, and as I see it, with growing understanding on the part of the participants in the movement [laughter in the audience]

[Mester]So you have had to convince people in high places about this concept. Do I understand you correctly?

[Pozsgay] Yes, many people had to be convinced about this. I am not certain about this result.

[Mester] Why not?

[Pozsgay] Because it is easier to deal with matters when the institution is a formal one than when an institution which takes seriously the Marxist intention that a political system, a state, which is supervised by the people is required. And if one takes this seriously then it must be given an institutional form, and this is what we tried to solve, to achieve, in the People's Front. I do not say that this has been successful in every respect. The entire question of the representation of interests and supervision is present in life today as a political demand; but it still does not exist as a functional institution.

[Mester] I have heard what you are saying now several times in political speeches, in your statements. It is familiar.

[Pozsgay] I am very boring, very stubborn. [passage omitted]

[Mester] You have always talked about democracy.

[Pozsgay] I stick to this stubbornly, that is true. [passage omitted]

[Pozsgay] It is true that this cannot be avoided if we seriously want to face the agonies and crises of contemporary society. One of the reasons for this crisis is that we have been talking about it for 20 years now and it still has not come to be—the kind of democracy we talked about in "Komikrofon" [Radio program in the seventies]

I like to quote Marx—not because it has dazzling theses, I think they are going to be overtaken by history in the same way that every scientific idea is overtaken; this is by the nature of history—but because he invented an unbelieveably suitable method of approaching society. And the other day I had the opportunity of meeting the youth of a technical university, a large group of people. And I said there—and I can tell you the same here—that Marx is no obstacle to our renewal. [laughter and applause]

[Mester] At the beginning of 1986 you said at an aktiv that political and cultural achievements, the country's political stability and its reliable, consolidated human relationships would come under threat if the economic mess were not sorted out. And the economic mess has not been sorted out, although 2 years have passed. Some people stress this, while others emphasize that although that is true, we now have a concept for averting the danger. I am well aware that this is not a question of emphasis, but I shall ask nevertheless: Which view would you stress?

[Pozsgay] I would stres that the danger is still very great. In other words, since the time I was able to make this statement the danger has only increased. The economic mess has not been sorted out. It is small consolation in all this that I think I was right once again when I said that it is impossible to step out, break out of this vicious circle merely by economic methods.

[Mester] Yes, you said that a great deal depends on the human factor.

[Pozsgay] Much depends on the human factor and I have added since then that the possibility of a breakthrough lies in politics, and only in a reformed, reorganized, system of political institutions. I am saying this with caution because otherwise it will soon become a slogan. But I also owe it to you to tell you what I thought of:

The well-worn concept of the human factor which has been hoisted as a slogan must be brought down to a more profane world. We must turn to the individual, to the person, to the sovereign and autonomous citizen who is not afraid of expressing an opinion in democratic institutions. And if I—do not interrupt me because I shall again lose my thread—and if I supplement this by saying that in society there is, as I have said just now, a crisis of confidence, ie. people are waiting for a turnabout but they also do not want to go head first into the wall, they do not want to commit madness because they also know its consequences, and the intelligentsia has a huge role in this, let me say that too; and if this is the case then we must engage in politics in a new way here. In other words, we must make changes in accordance with a determined and very well thought out program which turns society into real citizens, and which in this civic existence provides and gives to people the possibility of organizing, of forming associations, of new forms of

cooperation and solidarity. The possibility for this exists, and then there will be resurgence as well as stability. This is how I understand this series of ideas.

[Mester] Will we have the time and the strength for this and for confronting our past and present mistakes?

[Pozsgay] Time is a dangerous thing, but it must not be abused either. To clarify what I am saying: I do not believe that time-wasting and putting things off is what is needed here. [passage omitted]

[Mester] Yes, but are we not hindered in our actions by ideological considerations? Will I not be coming up against a previously held view, when I described something in the past as an achievement, and now I might be saying the opposite?

[Pozsgay] These are big, big problems for man today; for all of us, I think. But just think of what terrible price we have paid for standing beside dogma in the face of reality. And if you think of that, then already you and I have a greater urge to prefer to turn our backs on dogma rather than on reality. Sometimes this is a very difficult, terribly difficult thing. And another thing: I shall carry out my threat, and as I have said that Marx is no obstacle you will have to put up with a quote, because he spoke about private initiative and, in connection with that, about our views and problems.

Marx writes in his work Civil War in France—ie. not in one of his early works, but in a work written after the Paris Commune: History has not created a clear formation so far, and history does not possess teleological goals. They happen through human action. And the essence is not that such a pure form should develop but that prevailing conditions should designate the roles of all other conditions. And then all the others can exist, from private property to state property through the diverse interdependent forms of communal property which can circulate capital, and not ones which crystallize and paralyze this movement.

[Mester] You know, if you quote this sentence from Marx, I think many people accept this, for it is extremely convincing and I do not think it makes those to whom it applies nervous, for they perhaps do not even understand it. [laughter] However, another quote from Marx, would make those concerned a little more nervous. I am thinking of the sentence, that every day we must overtake critically that which we have attained.

[Pozsgay] Well, this thought was not published for a long time either.

[Mester] This cannot be by accident; neither that it was not published for a long time, nor that this quote—I heard this from you of course—and I know that many people do not like this quote because it means that there are people who will say things sooner than people acknowledge them, those who are in very high, important positions. [sentence as heard]

[Pozsgay] If I sometimes say things before others, it is not that others would not be capable of this. A person who is a member of this party is not compelled to leave his personality in the hall along with his galoshes and umbrella.

[Mester] Toward the end of the conversation, I should ask, because others, too, would ask in my place, what ambitions, what political ambitions drive you? Or are you content with your present position, you present possibilities?

[Pozsgay] It would have been better if you had not asked this, [laughter] not because I am afraid to answer this, but because my friends, the audience sitting here, have heard so many pharisaical replies already that I am afraid they will suspect me, too. But, I would like to reply really honestly.

[Mester] But if you don't want to, then don't reply.

[Pozsgay] I will reply. I will reply, I looked at you rather severely now, although I have no other reason except that while you were asking the question, I was toying with the idea of how I could avoid it, but I cannot avoid it.

I am replying because these ambitions—beyond the fact that I consider them absolutely honorable—cannot alarm anyone because they refer to work. I am really, really thinking of the kinds of things in which there is room for many others apart from me. And, this is nothing other than to participate in the kind of reform movement and reform activity from which a kind of nation emerges victorious, which does not concern itself with self-pity over the consequences of troubles but with its possibilities and with creating new possibilities in place of the missed possibilities. This cannot happen without looking back historically; it cannot happen without the decency of settling accounts, this must be done together. And I would like to act as a participant, a politician in a system of institutions where dialogue with the people is based in real institutions and has real, good social consequences. I do not mean this just as the punchline, for it is for you to conclude the conversation. And in this conversation, looking back on the however many minutes, I must say that I am very dissatisfied with myself, but don't you say that. Either you leave this in my radio program, or you don't. I am dissatisfied with myself because I dealt too much with my own person, although I have a very low capacity for self-reflection. That person they call Imre Pozsgay does not concern me very much. And it is for this reason that I can immerse myself quite well in matters of public life.

[Mester] This could be the concluding word to the conversation, but I am still saving one more thing—a real dilemma. Preparing for this conversation, I read a huge amount—what they wrote about you, what you wrote, what you said—and I began to prepare the script; which words occur most frequently. These are the following: interest, chance, debate, general consesus, democracy, nation, socialism. Now, my last question is, what kind of collective concept could these be grouped under?

[Pozsgay] Look, this makes me think, because I almost offered to try and unfold individual concepts one by one before the esteemed radio listeners, even if it meant getting into a conflict. I think that we must not finish such an objective and determined conversation in a pathetic manner. You were determined, and I tried to be.

So, I think that the encompassing concept is the ability to act, and the program of a nation in the ascent, can only be attained through a modern and new kind of political approach, through a political approach which serves the cooperation of people, and then this is a democratic socialist society in human form.

[Mester] Thank you for the conversation. [applause]

Warsaw Uprising Commemorated With Ceremonies
LD0108224188 Warsaw PAP in English
2142 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 1—Residents of Warsaw today paid homage to Poles fallen and murdered during the 63 days of heroic struggle against hated occupiers to mark the 44th anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising.

Representatives of the Warsaw authorities, the National Defence Ministry, organizations of war veterans and youth, and former soldiers of the Warsaw Uprising representing all Uprising groupings laid flowers at the foot of the tomb of the unknown soldier in the company of the Polish Army's honorary guard at noon today.

Representatives of the Warsaw authorities, the National Defence Ministry, war veterans, delegations of factories and youth laid flowers at the foot of the "Nike" monument to the Warsaw heroes at the Teatralny Square. The monument is a symbol of steadfast struggle by residents of Warsaw for its freedom.

Crowds of Varsovians, guests from Poland and abroad assembled at the Powazki cemetery where the fallen insurgents lie, including teen-ager boys. Their heroism is commemorated by the monument to the child insurgent standing on the walls of Warsaw's old city district. The Powazki cemetery contains also tombs of soldiers of the first Polish Army killed when rushing to give assistance to the Uprising from the Praga District on the Vistula right bank. Flowers were laid and eternal fires were lit in all these places, at tombs of nameless soldiers, at the tomb of Gen. Zygmunt Berling and in the cemetery's quarters with tombs of soldiers of the Home Army, the Polish Army and the People's Army.

Flowers were laid also at the tomb of commander of the "Radoslav" group Gen. Jan Mazurkiewicz who had died this year.

Also today, Varsovians commemorated places of the insurgents' bloody fighting. Its traces can be seen on many walls of Warsaw houses. These places were commemorated by plaques and also there Varsovians laid flowers and lit eternal fires.

Flowers were also laid at the foot of the plaque commemorating Commander-in-Chief of the Home Army Stefan Grotrowecki to mark the Uprising's anniversary.

Also today, preliminary work was started at the Krasniskich Square to build a monument to heroes of the Warsaw Uprising according a blueprint by sculptor Wincenty Kucma and architect Jacek Budym, accepted for implementation. The monument is to be unveiled in a year to mark the 45th anniversary of the outbreak of the uprising.

Over 100 former participants in the insurgents' elan from 44 years ago and members of the social committee for building the monument to the heroes of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising took part in a meeting with authorities of Warsaw city hall today. They were invited by Chairman of the Warsaw People's Council Professor Mieczyslaw Szotek.

August 1, 1944 is a date that in a lasting way went down in the history of our city, Mieczyslaw Szostek said.

Former soldier of the Uprising Stanislaw Sieradzi codenamed "Swist" addressed Warsaw authorities on behalf of former insurgents. We would like Warsaw to be decorated with the Warsaw insurgent cross, he said.

Stanislaw Sieradzki also told the gathering about a proposal to set up a museum of the Warsaw Uprising and thanked on behalf of the insurgents for making it possible to build the monument to the heroes of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising.

The monument will serve to recall grand elan and heroism of both soldiers and the people of Warsaw, those who struggled and who gave assistance to the uprising and civilian population that shared difficulties and suffering together with insurgent-soldiers, chairman of the social committee for building the monument awarded medals of heroes of the Warsaw Uprising to, among others: Tadeusz Borowski from the U.S., Leszek Wojcicki from Australia, George Allan from Britain, Roman Zawisza from Britain, Sylwester Braun -"Kris" from the U.S., the author of famous photographs of the Uprising, Tadeusz Chojkop-Belec from Canada and Jack van Eysseen and Harry Peter Littemore, British pilots taking part in dropping suplies for insurgent Warsaw.

Thousands Demonstrate at Katyn Forest
LD0108193188 Hamburg DPA in German
1808 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw (DPA)—Tens of thousands of people remembered the 200,000 victims of the Warsaw Uprising at the Pawazki cemetery in Warsaw today. The Warsaw Uprising was brutually put down 44 years ago after more than 2 months by the German occupying forces.

As in previous years a few thousand people assembled around a memorial for 4,143 Polish officers. Their bodies were discovered in a mass grave in Katyn forest near Smolensk by the Germans in 1943. An international commission found that the soldiers had been killed in early 1940 by the Soviets.

A Polish national flag decorated the cross at the memorial. It bore the slogan: "We demand the truth—Katyn 1940." The official inscription on the memorial, which describes the dead of Katyn as "victims of Hitler fascism" was covered over with flowers. The head of the nationalist "Confederation of Independent Poland"

(KPN), Leszek Moczulski, stressed at a rally that those involved in the Uprising of 1944 had been concerned with an independent and free Poland, goals which are still topical in Poland. The people chanted; "There is no just Europe without an independent Poland." [passage omitted]

PEN Club Allowed To Convene Assembly

Minister Supports Assembly

LD0108211388 Warsaw PAP in English 1600 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 1—Minister of Culture and Art Aleksander Krawczuk has sent a letter to Warsaw's president, recommending him to grant a permission to convene a general assembly of Polish PEN Club members, aimed at electing new authorities of the club, and to resume its full, statutory activity.

Krawczuk expressed the conviction that the goal of new PEN Club authorities will be good cooperation with the entire literary milieu and the ministry of culture and art for the good of Polish culture and literature.

Government Agrees to Revival

LD0108211988 Hamburg DPA in German 2000 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, (DPA)—Seven years after the imposition of martial law, now long since lifted, the Polish Government has agreed to the revival of the Polish PEN Club. Following a talk with Culture Minister Aleksander Krawczuk on Monday, the chairman of the writers' association, Juliusz Zulawski, received from Warsaw's mayor permission to convene a general assembly of the members of the PEN Club. Zulawski has headed the Polish PEN since 1978 and was last reelected to this office by the general assembly in 1980. Following the imposition of martial law the Polish PEN Club itself suspended its activity until further notice because of restrictive conditions imposed by the state.

Zulawski said in an interview with DPA that the authorites had acceded to a repeatedly made demand by the PEN Club by granting permission for the general assembly. The general assembly will probably be convened for the end of September. No preconditons have been imposed by the government. In May this year 151 Polish writers appealed by letter to state and party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski to remove obstacles to the revival of the PEN Club. [passage omitted]

Urban's 26 Jul News Conference

AU0108060188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Jul 88 pp 1, 5, 7

[Transcript of press conference by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 26 July]

[Text] Minister Jerzy Urban, government press spokesman, met foreign and Polish journalists on 26 July at the weekly press conference. The transcript of the meeting appears below.

Urban: According to my calculations, there are eight issues that I have to deal with in the introduction.

I would like to return to Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland once again. Going through the great variety of press items that commented on the visit, I found one in the Western press that stated that although the visit was very rich in political terms, it brought nothing in the economic sphere, which is so important for Poland. I would like to say that this view is mistaken. Polish-Soviet economic relations were discussed, and in his Sejm address the CPSU General Secretary said that socialist renewal creates opportunities for the expansion of economic integration. He also said: "The radical economic changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union and Poland create fundamentally new conditions for future economic cooperation."

During the course of the visit, general prospects for economic cooperation and integration were discussed. However, it is true that concrete bilateral economic problems were not discussed. The Polish side did not have to raise them, because they had been resolved before the visit. This was accomplished through intergovernmental channels. Besides, I have already spoken about this subject.

The Soviet leadership met us halfway and accepted the course of the solutions that we proposed. I will say openly that the Polish side realizes that the Soviet Union adopted a series of solutions that are not simple ones from the point of view of the Soviet economy. It did this out of friendship and a desire to support us in the difficult economic situation in which Poland continues to find itself. Without stipulating any conditions, it was affirmed that supplies from the Soviet Union over the next 5-year period would remain at the level previously established. This applies to such basic raw materials and sources of energy as crude oil, natural gas, iron and chrome ores, as well as to some other kinds of minerals. The supplies that have been agreed upon are of key importance for the Polish economy, because they secure the foundations for the economy's development for the period 1990-1995. Of course, this is based on the assumption that we succeed in introducing more modern technologies and various other moves that will ensure that raw materials and energy are used more economically.

The Soviet Union has agreed to the postponement of repayments on Poland's hard currency debt. We owe the Soviet Union about $1.5 billion and repayment has been postponed for 10 years on preferential postponement terms. The Soviet Union has offered us a further credit amounting to R400 million for the purpose of stabilizing our balance of payments situation. Finally, the Soviet Union has agreed to apply financial terms dictated by the world market in paying for the services of Polish construction workers during the upcoming 5-year

period, and these agreements concern payments amounting to R1.4 billion. Consideration has also been given to the problem of the procedures involved in writing off Poland's debt in convertible rubles.

Agreement has been reached on difficult issues, and the attitude of the Soviet partner has indicated a desire to diminish the difficulties of the Polish economy. All these displays of friendship and affinity toward Poland, which have their basis in internationalist ideals, are strengthening mutually advantageous Polish-Soviet cooperation. Currently, the focus of attention is shifting toward direct cooperation between enterprises, research centers, and units engaged in commerce. As the Politburo stated at its meeting at the "Mera-Blonie" Factory, cooperation with the Soviet Union is the cornerstone of plans for the modernization of Polish industry, and the large, stable Soviet market provides extensive opportunities for exporting Polish goods, which will be balanced by the wide range of goods that we intend to import from the Soviet Union.

However, what we must do is adjust foreign currency and financial mechanisms and pricing principles to suit the needs of increased cooperation in a situation in which economic mechanisms in both countries are changing. The first step has already been taken, because the methods employed in determining settlements between industrial plants that are engaged in direct cooperation have been altered.

Next, as was announced in the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum report, a roundtable discussion has already started on the provisions of a new law on associations. Independent groups interested in developing political pluralism through associations were represented by the lawyer Jan Olszewski, Professor Stelmachowski, and Prof Chrzanowski. Four roundtable meetings have already taken place.

Exploratory talks are also being held with representatives of independent circles on the subject of the principles and forms of accord aimed at obtaining support for the reforms. Jozef Czyrek has addressed the subject of the need for and ideas behind this kind of accord in the columns of TRYBUNA LUDU on two occasions. There has been much speculation in the West about this and other actions aimed at enhancing national accord and accelerating and deepening economic reforms and political changes in Poland. Some of this speculation, broadcast by Polish language radio stations, produces confusion about our policy and the intentions behind it. One such issue is the question of trade union pluralism. The law on trade unions leaves this question open for the future. To avoid any misunderstandings, I would like to state clearly what our intentions are. We consider the form that trade union pluralism might take at some point in the future to be a subject for discussion with the essential participation of OPZZ activists. However, we stand firm on two principles concerning our political concepts pertaining to the future:

First, only one trade union organization will operate on a permanent basis in a given workplace, which does not, however, exclude the idea of autonomous bodies representing various occupations existing within the one trade union organization, which is something that is currently being discussed.

Second, the Solidarity movement, which operated formally as a trade union, although it was not always a trade union, definitely belongs to the past. On the other hand, the development of socialist pluralism with respect to social organizations and its possible application to trade unions at some later date should create extensive additional opportunities for genuine trade union activists who used to belong to Solidarity and other people associated with the organization who are today striving to improve conditions in Poland, to improve the situation in public life, including political and social life, and in the trade union movement, while acting independently and preserving their separate identity.

The 16th Food and Agriculture Organization Regional Conference will take place in Krakow from 23 through 26 August. It is expected that all the European agriculture ministers or their representatives, as well as those of Turkey and Israel, will attend. Representatives of the following states will take part as observers: the United States, Canada, the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the Vatican. In addition, the conference will be attended by the organization's director general, the executive secretary of the European Economic Commission, and representatives of specialist UN agencies connected with agriculture, the food economy, and environmental protection. Apart from its official delegation, Poland will also be represented by about 30 outstanding specialists. It is expected that many European journalists will also attend. Food and Agriculture Organization experts have prepared two substantive reports that will provide a basis for discussion. The first concerns Europe's agriculture in the year 2000, and the second concerns environmental dangers and farming. The first report will provide a basis for analyzing trends in European agriculture and the projected directions of the development of agriculture, the food economy, and the rural environment in Europe until the end of this century.

The second topic will provide a basis for discussion of the need to coordinate policy concerning the protection of the environment and natural resources with the agricultural policy of individual countries and various regions of Europe and cooperation in this field between the states and regions of Europe.

Poland wishes to become fully self-sufficient in food, including grain. The effective development of agriculture calls for the more rapid growth of crops, which is the basis for feeding livestock. The main direction of our activities is the so-called comprehensive plan for techniques used in the cultivation of basic crops. A characteristic feature of this system—it is widespread in countries that practice intensive forms of farming, including

CEMA countries—is the comprehensive nature of activities aimed at expanding agricultural output. We already have some experience in this area, because, beginning in 1983, we started introducing comprehensive techniques for the cultivation of grain for areas of 4,000 hectares. Overall, during the period 1983-86, using these methods for areas of this size, we achieved increased yields for, for example, winter wheat and spring barley of the order of ten quintals per hectare, which represented an immediate increase of 28 percent in grain output. In 1986, for example, the use of such techniques resulted in increases of 5 quintals per hectare in the case of rape, 50 quintals per hectare in the case of potatoes, and 60 quintals per hectare in the case of sugar beet. Thus, this represents a very effective rate of increase. It is estimated that by the year 1990, the use of these comprehensive techniques will apply to 4 million hectares of the land used for the cultivation of grain, and, at the same time, the amount of land used for the cultivation of wheat and barley will increase by 350,000 hectares. In 1990, just 2 years from now, the increase in grain production compared with 1986 may amount to 2.86 million tons, which, based on a average yield of about 33 quintals per hectare, would provide a total grain harvest of almost 28 million tons. This increase would correspond to, or even exceed, the current level of Polish grain imports. This forecast also covers increased output for rape, potatoes, and sugar beet, but this requires increased supplies of plant protection agents and the development of other production technology.

The next matter concerns an entirely different field. Under the supervision of the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw and a team of specialists from the Main Headquarters of the Civilian Militia a vigorous investigation is being continued into the beating up of Prof Jan Strzelecki, which resulted in the death of the esteemed humanist and thinker. As I pointed out, the memory of the deceased is being honored in the press in articles by, I would say, people representing very different orientations, from Kozniewski to Mazowiecki. To return to action being taken by the militia. Numerous and varied investigative activities are being conducted, including so-called operational actions. There was what can be believed to be a very accurate reconstruction of the attack and the way in which the perpetrators of the crime behaved. The persons who were the first to find Strzelecki, who had been badly beaten up, were asked to return to the scene of the crime. Jan Olszewski, the local attorney, was actively involved in the visit to the site. The visit was recorded on video tape. Several dozen witnesses have been questioned. Items found at the place where Jan Strzelecki was assaulted have been submitted for examination. Expert reports are being prepared by specialist research centers, where the latest technical equipment is being used.

At the same time, activities of a very wide-ranging kind are being conducted, which the militia describes as the penetration of the criminal community. The information that the militia is receiving is being scrupulously checked. For example, an investigation is currently being conducted into an attack of a very similar kind in terms of the way in which the bandits operated. It was also an assault involving robbery that occurred in the same area on 18 June. After beating up the victim, a man, the bandits stole Z40,000. All information, even the most minor and seemingly unimportant information, is being investigated in the hope that it will shed light on the attack on Prof Strzelecki. Attorney Olszewski is being informed about every aspect of the investigation, and he can personally take part in every line of investigation, but he will not, however, take part in every one. I understand that some details concerning this tragic incident, which has so shocked public opinion, will be described in television program that is to be shown on 27 July. It is to be broadcast in the evening.

Yesterday there a great deal of commotion was stirred up about Poland; a completely irrational bit of sensationalism. REUTER reported that the Venezuelan president said on Saturday that a foreign ship was stopped in Venezuelan waters and that it was carrying illegal weapons, which according to the police, were meant to be exchanged for narcotics. He said that ship was stopped 170 kilometers northwest of Caracas and that the weapons would be handed over to the Armed Forces. REUTER further reported that 6,750 tons of weapons were involved and that the crew of the ship was being questioned. That was what the reports stated. It was later established that the ship, the "Kuznica," was Polish. The facts are that the Polish ship the "Kuznica" was on its way to the port of Maracaibo with a pilot on board when it was stopped by Venezuelan customs officials who raised questions about the weapons and the ammunition that the ship was carrying. The cargo did not amount to 6,700 tons, but to 6 tons, and was thus 1000 times smaller than reported. The cargo was not being smuggled. It was properly labelled, classified, and entered on the cargo list in accordance with the law and with all the regulations governing the shipment of goods.

The captain of the "Kuznica" dispatched a protest to the relevant authorities concerning what was an illegal act relating to a consignment of goods that was being legally transported to a recipient outside Venezuela. According to press reports, the cargo was destined for Peru, and it was not of Polish origin. The Polish ship was simply performing ordinary shipping services. The cargo consisted of 160 cases containing 220 rifles, 220 silencers, and 200,000 pieces of ammunition weighing a total of 6,780 kilogrammes. The weapons were not Polish. The recipient is the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Peru. The ship has been released, it is continuing normal loading operations, and the weapons have been released.

This was all some great misunderstanding. I am surprised that such a small consignment, which was not that unusual, was the subject of statements by the president of two Latin American countries. I also express regret about the rash actions of Western agencies, which failed to check with our shipping lines or with the authorities to

establish precisely what happened. Instead, they came up with stories that were pure invention according to which the weapons were to be exchanged for narcotics. It is hard not to consider this evidence of a tendency to leap on everything, even information that is not verified, that might present our country in a bad light. It is interesting that on 25 July, in other words yesterday, at 2200 hours, Radio Free Europe said the following: "The Venezuelan President said that his government has decided to retain the weapons cache confiscated from a Polish freighter last Friday. The president said that Venezuela has retained almost 6.7 million tonnes of weapons. The Venezuelan Interior Minister Jose Angel Ciliperto, said that the weapons on board the Polish vessel were confiscated because they bore no identification marks and were not listed in the vessel's freight manifest. Therefore, the Venezuelan authorities concluded that this was an illegal transport." Literally 1 hour later, the American station "Voice of America" said: "The Peruvian press has reported the Peruvian Interior Minister Jose Angel Ciliperto (in other words this minister has already changed his country and nationality) as saying that he intends to ask the Venezuelan authorities to release the Polish vessel that carried an arms shipment. The minister is to say that the weapons had been bought by the Peruvian police." There is a difference of 1 hour between the time when Radio Free Europe makes a big sensation and makes accusations against Poland without checking the facts, and when "Voice of America" reports something completely different.

I wish to say one more thing in connection with press reports about the release of prisoners brought about by the new law on military service. There is a certain amount of misunderstanding in Western commentaries because we said that 86 persons in prison for refusing military service for religious reasons would now be released. The question is: What about the rest? Well, I wish to explain that the release of these people will be governed by two separate legal procedures, the first applicable to those sentenced for refusing military service because of their conscience. The chief military prosecutor has applied to the State Council for parole. The parole would apply to those who agree to undergo alternative military service as defined in the new law. Only one of these people, a man called Dutkiewicz, has refused alternative service, this time no longer because of conscience, and therefore he will not be released. The second legal procedure applies to those in prison for refusing military service because of religion. With respect to these cases, the military prosecutors have applied for a parole on the basis of new, more lenient rules which permit release after serving one-third of one's sentence. Nevertheless, several hundred Jehovah's Witnesses are still in prison. If they fulfill the conditions, they may be paroled, as long as they agree to alternative service. If they do, one may expect the military prosecutors to apply for this parole. The trouble is that there are several hundred people who refuse to perform alternative service to protect the environment or carry out other socially important tasks.

Now I wish to discuss a regrettable incident which occurred at the Church of Saint Brygida in Gdansk. The papers have already reported it, but I wish to provide details because the Western press has displayed interest in the subject. On 22 July, at about 1900 hours, three uniformed militiamen, who were on street patrol in Gdansk but in a district different to the one in which the church is situated, became drunk—or, at least, two of them became drunk although all three were drinking—and proceeded toward the church, where there was a service in progress. Two of them, Private T. and Private J. (Footnote: We omit the names because the procurator's office has not allowed them to be revealed) entered the church. The third remained outside. After standing at the side of the nave, they left the church, but about 4 and ½ minutes later Private T. went back in, went up to the altar at which the parish priest plus Father Czerwinski, the leader of a pilgrimage from Gorzow Wielkopolski, were saying mass, and stood in front of it with arms folded, hat still on his head. The parish priest called for the identification and removal of this functionary, who was seized by the arms and led out of the church. Several members of the congregation also went outside. A scuffle broke out, in which T. used his truncheon and took out a Finnish knife. A second militiaman, waiting outside the church, joined in the scuffle and also used his truncheon. The third functionary tried to persuade his colleagues to leave, but when the scuffle broke out he also joined in and used his truncheon. The parish priest reported the matter to the Voivodship Internal Affairs office. A patrol car was immediately despatched to the scene. The three militiamen were immediately apprehended and subjected to alcohol tests. An excessive alcohol level was detected in the blood of two of them, and a higher alcohol level discovered in the blood of the third, though he too had been drinking. These were young militiamen still under so-called preparatory service, in other words they were militia cadets. All three were apprehended, and later two of them were arrested. They explained that they had entered the church to observe the atmosphere inside. One member of the congregation suffered slight injuries, a grazed hand and knee.

Colonel Mularcazyk of the Gdansk militia immediately held a meeting with Father Czerwinski and apologized for the reprehensible and undignified conduct of the militiamen. Disciplinary measures have been applied to two of them, and they are in prison pending investigations. Six witnesses have been interviewed, doctors have examined injuries, and so on. At the same time, investigations are under way inside the militia to ascertain who out of the leadership cadres had failed to exercise his supervisory duties over the militiamen and who was responsible for their consumption of alcohol while on duty.

Besides, soon all militia functionaries will receive refresher training on the performance of duty inside religious premises.

AP has supplied false information to exacerbate an already reprehensible incident. It said that one of the militiamen wanted to urinate inside the church. This proves how attempts are made to exaggerate events and stir emotions surrounding scandalous incidents.

The very description of the incident shows that the three militiamen are in different legal situations. When I was informed of it, the prosecutor had still not decided on the charge that was to be made. But that part of the penal code dealing with those who "injure religious feelings or abuse places of worship" makes it clear that this is a gross violation of discipline which will probably lead to the dismissal of two or all three of the militiamen. Such persons may receive up to 2 years imprisonment, according to article 198. According to article 156, paragraph 2, whoever "causes bodily harm" is subject to a maximum of 3 years imprisonment plus a fine. The most serious sanction is provided by article 246, dealing with public functionaries who exceed their authority and act to the detriment of the common good. These can receive up to 5 years imprisonment. It is up to the prosecutor to decide what legal qualification to apply. It depends on the outcome of investigations.

I wish to tell you that General Andrzejewski, chief of the Voivodship Internal Affairs Office, has apologized to the Bishop of Gdanska, and that Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak has conveyed his regrets to Archbishop Bronsilaw Dabrowski, secretary to the Polish Episcopate. To forestall possible questions, let me say that there is nothing to indicate that this was a piece of political provocation or conspiracy. Instead, it was a hooligan prank played by drunken youths who, unfortunately, were in uniform.

And finally, a humorous issue, as if to show that we are in the middle of a heatwave. There has been loud reaction to my plan to visit Radio Free Europe in Munich. I have in front of me a copy of the London DZIENNIK POLSKI [POLISH DAILY], which is published in Polish every day. Under the heading "Activity of the Polish Government in Exile," we read: "At a 4 July meeting of the Council of Ministers (meaning the so-called emigre government in London), it was decided to issue a protest by the government of the Polish Republic against the fact that the Radio Free Europe management have agreed to a visit by Jerzy Urban, press spokesman of the PPR communist regime." This paper's 25 June issue carries the headline "We Protest," beneath which the following declaration appears: "Independent Polish society in Great Britain, headed by the government of the Polish Republic, has accepted with surprise and indignation news that the 'Free Europe' management has accepted the offer of Jerzy Urban, press spokesman of the PPR authorities, to hold talks in Warsaw or Munich." When they learned about this incomprehensible decision by the management of Radio Free Europe, the Congress of American Poles, headed by its president, Alojzy Mazewski, delivered a sharp protest to the White House and to Radio Free Europe's Munich director, Gene Pell. Every day, Radio Free Europe supplies Poland with honest and exhaustive information and comment about all problems of importance, and is opposed to any talks with Urban. Besides, this same paper carried a lengthy article by Stefan Remarski called "RFE Talks with Urban."

I am not going to entertain you with this article. It says that Radio Free Europe's Polish staff believe there are no obstacles to a meeting between the American management and Jerzy Urban if the management so desires, but both Urban himself and the form in which he made his offer are unacceptable. Later on, the article says that Urban is a dismal visiting card for the Jaruzelski regime and that there is nothing to discuss with him. This is a long article, therefore I am only conveying its essence. We read: "For the Polish section of RFE, Jerzy Urban is not a challenge which they wish to avoid, but they will not allow themselves to be used by him for propaganda purposes. Urban need not bother to come, because his purpose is not to discuss, but to prove to Polish opinion that the PPR Government Spokesman, who represents the interests of the regime, even has access to 'McCarthyist' dinosaurs. The Polish staff of RFE," the paper continues, "have nothing to gain from talks with Urban, but have a lot to lose." That is how the article ends. It really seems as if the whole thing comes from another time and as if the iron curtain that they are trying to draw across Europe is already a figment of these sober people's imagination. That was just to amuse you.

Bogdan Turek AP: You have said that "Solidarity" already belongs to the past, and yet there are talks with opposition activists all the time. In view of this, what role in public life do the authorities see for Mr Walesa, and can you tell us more about these talks? I have another two questions. Should I ask them one after another, or wait?

Urban: One after another, if you please. I have already spoken about Mr Walesa many times, explaining that everything depends on his attitude. However, I do not rule out the fact that something may happen here.

Bogdan Turek: The anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising is near. What is the situation with the building of a memorial, and has any name for this memorial been decided?

Urban: All this was decided a long time ago and published, together reports on the disputes and differences in view. Please look at the papers. I do not remember the details; all this was several months ago.

Bogdan Turek: And finally, supplies of Soviet oil to Poland. How much will be delivered in future? Is it true that above a certain amount, Poland pays the Soviet Union in dollars?

Urban: Supplies of oil will continue at the same level. Poland does pay in dollars for certain small quantities of oil necessary to replenish our resources, and buys this oil from the source that offers the most favorable price. So it could be Soviet oil.

Marian Kafarski, AFP: Let me refer to the question from my AP colleague. Did you have in mind Mr Walesa the ordinary citizen, or Mr Walesa the "Solidarity" trade union representative?

Urban: I think I made it clear that this union belongs to the past, and I also said that it never was a trade union, or quickly ceased to be one. But these definitions are no longer the point. Of course, anyone who does not represent legal Polish organizations represents only himself.

Henryk Sroczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY [WORKERS' VOICE]: There is a shortage of many goods in the shops, prices are increasing, and inflation is making society dissatisfied and pessimistic. What is the government doing to prevent a fall in the standard of living?

Urban: That is the government's main concern and the main subject of its work. Briefly, to improve the supply of basic commodities, the government has worked out a special plan to supply to all shops the minimum quantity of commodities necessary for life. This involves more foreign currency expenditure, transfers of production resources, and factory investments, so that soon there will be no shortage of certain commodities that are really necessary.

As far as anti-inflation activity is concerned, its main purpose is also to supply more goods to the market, an objective served by many economic measures, such as limiting investments beyond the production sphere or, and this is just an example, seeing to it that factories enjoy the benefits of exports only after they have fulfilled their quotas for the domestic market.

The government does have a program for balancing the market and halting inflation in the second half of the year. This program is yet to be discussed with the trade unions and other social partners. It mainly calls for greater supplies of goods and the prevention of an excessive flow of money. For the first half of this year has seen high wages, too high in relation to production and prices. Furthermore, the plan is meant to improve the balance between budget spending and budget income and improve the mechanisms that control increases in the incomes of enterprises and people. Later on, a state-social prices and incomes commission will be appointed, a permanent institution in a sphere where interests collide.

Finally, the government announced that the main purpose of the principles of the 1988 plan, which will be consulted with trade unions on a preliminary basis, will be to halt inflation in 1989. The government has already published some of the measures to this end, namely those to reduce the rate of price hikes and, consequently, inflation. We want to change the structure of production by eliminating the technologies, materials, and production that are excessively material- and labor-intensive; by adjusting investment demands with the actual production potential and the flow of machines and equipment; and, in a word, by making investment plans feasible. The most important task in this connection is to determine the details of the 1989 draft plan with regard to price-income policy and the development of the people's conditions. Replying to the resolution adopted by the OPZZ Executive Committee, I said at my previous press conference that the government had critically appraised most of the results of price hikes and had agreed that, although there hikes improved the structure of prices, especially those on coal and energy, and encouraged conservation, the hikes created some bad effects such as increases in wages in excess of price increases. In turn, these wage increases caused further price increase. In a word, inflation has run riot, and we are now trying to devise the method to stop it.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: You have said that various social organizations and forces, including the OPZZ, should discuss the future form of trade union pluralism. Can you tell us who these social forces are?

Urban: Anyone can discuss things in Poland.

Marian Kafarski, AFP: Can you tell us how much crude oil Poland buys from the USSR?

Urban: I have no figures on me, but since oil supplies do not change, consult the published statistical data.

Piotr Wilczynski, DPA: Since you have named some of the people who attended the discussion about the proposed law on associations, could you tell who represented the state in this discussion?

Urban: I remember the name of Professor Rajkiewicz.

Zbigniew Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: Our passport regulations have been greatly liberalized, and refusals to issue passports are rare. Could not another step be taken in this liberalization so that citizens could keep at home their passports allowing them to travel to the West?

Urban: I have said many times that we are in favor of our citizens' keeping their passports at home, but this requires certain computer investments, which are being implemented. I am not quite at home with these matters, so please consult the Passport Bureau, if you want to know more about them.

Kay Withers: About my previous questions. You have said that the issue of pluralism must be discussed by various social groups, including the OPZZ, existing in Poland. What other such groups did you have in mind?

Urban: I wanted to stressed that nothing will be discussed or determined about trade union matters without the participation of the leaders of the trade union movement in Poland. I also said that anyone can discuss things in Poland.

Kay Withers: Does this mean that official talks or negotiations will be held? If so, who will participate in these talks?

Urban: I have nothing to say about any plan for negotiations. I do not know what kind of blindman's buff you are playing with me. I have said quite distinctly that Solidarity is a thing of the past, so if what you are concerned about is that the discussion on trade union pluralism will be held with the Solidarity structures, then what I have said contains an answer to your question.

John Daniszewski AP: We have often heard in the past that it was impossible to have trade union pluralism in Poland. The explanation was that the Polish economy could not afford a situation in which two different trade unions should compete with another. Has this viewpoint been abandoned now?

Urban: We have abandoned nothing. We have always said that pluralism is an open issue. In this connection, I have allowed myself to state that under these conditions that issue may be discussed. If you read some periodicals, we may notice the this issue is already being discussed and that this discussion goes beyond the limits that we regard as realistic. What I have done was simply to hint that, as the law on the trade unions indicates, certain forms of pluralism are not a close issue and that discussions of such forms are most probable.

Juergen Vieting, DIE SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: The Polish mass media have recently published much information that the Poles in the USSR may develop cultural activities under the policy of openness. Is it possible that those people in Poland who want to cultivate their German language and culture will be able to set up an association such as the German Sociocultural Association in Walbrzych?

Urban: The FRG and we differ considerably on this point. The FRG theories that 1 or 2 million or 500,000 Germans still live in Poland cause much unnecessary political irritation. In our country, the literature, language, and cultural achievements of old Germany, of the present two Germanies, and of other German-speaking countries continue to be studied and taught. But we cannot come to terms with those political trends that profess the thesis that a large German minority still exists in Poland. This thesis is untrue.

Juergen Vieting: It was on purpose that I did not speak of a German minority. I meant the people who have such wishes.

Urban: The people who wish to study German literature, view German movies, travel in the GDR and the FRG, and study the German language have every opportunity to do so.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: I take it that you have said that trade union pluralism means that only one trade union will be allowed to exist in a given plant, but that an autonomous representation of other trade union groups affiliated with a single trade union structure is not out of the question. What autonomous representations and what groups represented in that structure are involved?

Urban: I have said that discussions are continuing in trade union organizations, because people with various jobs and most varied views are often members of the same trade union organization in a plant. These discussions have produced plans in line with which a trade union organization could set up within itself autonomous groups representing various trade interests. Metallurgists and, say, drivers in a foundry are closely interested in their particular jobs, and this is what I had in mind when I spoke of autonomous groups, but the government has nothing to say in this connection, because this is an internal matter of trade unions. I have just hinted that this is what internal trade union discussions are about.

Deborah Seward, AP: You have said that talks are being held going to accelerate the economic reform principles to be used here. Any details?

Urban: No. I talk about certain issues in a vague and secretive manner, although I like to talk straight from the heart. The reason is that I like to let people get wind of some matters that are still not ripe enough for a full treatment. I have said that talks were going on that were at first triggered by the anticrisis pact, which we now want to call the proreform accord. These intensive talks are continuing between various officials and private persons. I cannot discuss these talks because we have agreed not to hold them under public pressure, that is, when, say, some people would blame a person for dirtying itself by shaking hand with Mr Ciosek. This is the reality of the quasi political life in Warsaw. Well, I cannot boast that these talks have reached any promising stage. On the contrary, I regret that we like to talk so much without reaching any real accords even on matters that are not so controversial.

Deborah Seward: Mr Czyrek spoke of proreform coalition, but the definition of coalition is that at least two partners must be part of it. What about that second partner?

Urban: Many partners are involved, that is, all those who may have different views on the political system in Poland, on how far the industry should nationalized and how far it should be private, and on various matters, but the condition is that they should wish well the reforms

that have been initiated and are being implemented as real measures in our country. They should also support these reforms. Anyone is welcome to that coalition, provided he wants to work in favor these reforms, that is, in favor of Poland. Anyone, even if he is a monarchist and believes in a non-constitutional monarchy.

John Daniszewski, AP: We have recently heard many rumors about the liberalization of issues such as the law on associations and the registration of the PEN Club, the Dziekania Association, or the Economic Society. Am I to understand that all these issues have been suspended for the time being, because the results of the roundtable discussions must be known first?

Urban: No. The roundtable discussions—this is a conventional term—turn around the issue of the law on associations. This law has its specific timetable, and when the discussions transform it into a formal bill, it will be submitted to the Sejm, but I do not assume that this will be done this year. The issue of the PEN Club is also very close to a solution. It is being dealt with, but it cannot be finally solved during the vacation period, because PEN Club members, that is, the community concerned, are on vacations at the seaside or in the hills. I have to look into the issue of the Dziekania Association, because I do not know what stage it has reached. It is, of course, true that in our country these issues take too much time to reach a solution, because disputed issues are always prolonged on both sides. Still, it is our intention to positively solve the issue of the Dziekania Association, and I have already told you so. I expect that this solution may soon become reality.

Tadeusz Kucharski, TIME: You have said that the issue of trade union pluralism is an open issue, one open to discussion. At the same time, you have said that the irreversible principle is that only one trade union organization may operate in a given plant. Excuse me, but I do not know what that trade union pluralism might mean.

Urban: Trade union pluralism will denote a different pluralism than the one in the given plant.

Tadeusz Kucharski: Perhaps you could give an example of such pluralism?

Urban: I could give you an example, Sir, but I do not like to be too specific about informal discussions. I have only hinted at the open nature of the issue and have stressed its limits.

Piotr Wilczynski, DPA: Speaking of the persons imprisoned for refusing to do national military service, you have twice said that several hundreds of such persons are being kept in prison. This is a very imprecise expression. Could you give us a more precise figure or at least an approximate one?

Urban: I am unable to give you a precise figure, because the figure in question continues to change all the time. The recent report that some 900 persons have been released from imprisonment shows that the situation continues to change from day to day. But we may assume that the figure you have in mind is closer to 500 than to 1,000.

Kay Withers: I must say I am in a state of confusion insofar as the issue of trade union pluralism is concerned, and that is why I would like to ask you the question that you have been asked by Mr Tadeusz Kucharski, but I would like to put it a little differently. I would like to know for certain whether what you have said about pluralism indicates that the future trade union representation in plants will be as it is present, that is, will be of the OPZZ type and will include persons from the present OPZZ and from certain groups that were previously members of Solidarity. Or is the intention to have in at least some plants the trade unions represented by certain organizations that are strictly non-political and strictly trade union in nature and that also include former Solidarity activists as members?

Urban: The simple thing is that when I have said that everyone engages in discussions in Poland and that everyone is allowed to discuss things, the word everyone also included Mrs Kay Withers, who has engaged in that discussion. I will not answer your question because as a representative of the government I am least entitled to engage in that discussion as this would trigger a sharp protest on the part of the OPZZ.

State Council Decrees Pension Increase

AU0108184488 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Jul 88 p 1

["Decree of the State Council of the SR of Romania on Implementing the Increase in Occupational and Old Age State Social Security Pensions, in Pensions for Disabled People and War Invalids, and in Military Pensions"]

[Text] In order to implement Law No 5/1988 on the increase in occupational and old-age state social security pensions and in pensions for disabled people and war invalids,

The State Council of the SR of Romania decrees:

Article 1. Occupational and old-age state social security pensions of up to 3,000 lei a month will increase by an average of 8 percent.

Article 2. (1) The minimum occupational and old-age state social security pensions for pensioners with full length of service will be set at 1,100 lei a month.

(2) The increment percentages of occupational and old-age state social security pensions for full length of service are those stipulated in Annex No 1, differentiated according to pension level.

Article 3. (1) The minimum occupational and old-age pensions for pensioners with an incomplete length of service, who have worked for at least 10 years in state units, will be set at 800 lei a month. The length of service that is being taken into consideration is that stipulated by the legal regulations on state social security pensions.

(2) The increment percentages for occupational and old-age state social security pensions with an incomplete length of service are those stipulated in Annex No 2, differentiated according to pension level.

Article 4. The minimum pension for loss of the ability to work, second-grade invalidity, and of pensioners receiving pensions solely from state social security funds, will be set at 800 lei a month.

Article 5. (1) The pensions of war invalids of up to 3,000 lei a month will increase by an average of 16.9 percent.

(2) The minimum pension of war invalids will be set at 800 lei a month.

(3) The increment percentages of pensions for war invalids are those stipulated in Annex No 3, differentiated according to pension level.

Article 6. The pensions stipulated in Articles 1-5 will be increased as follows:

a) The pensions of war invalids on 1 August 1988;

b) Occupational and old-age state social security pensions of up to 1,500 lei a month and the minimum pensions for loss of ability to work, second-grade invalidity, on 1 October 1988;

c) Occupational and old-age state social security pensions of up to 1,501-3,000 lei a month on 1 March 1989.

Article 7 (1) In the case of occupational and old-age pensions of people with a full length of service performed in several sectors with their own pension plans, the percentage of increment is that stipulated in Annex No 1—in accordance with the total level of pensions—and will be applied to the quota of the state social security pension.

(2) In the case of occupational and old-age pensions of people with an incomplete length of service performed in several sectors with their own pension plans, of which at least 10 years in state units, the percentage of increment is that stipulated in Annex No 2—in accordance with the total level of pensions—and will be applied to the quota of the state social security pension.

Article 8. (1) The state social security pensions to which this increase applies, the minimum pensions stipulated by the present decree, and pensions of war invalids also incorporate compensation for agricultural produce and foodstuffs, thermal energy, natural gas, and other fuels stipulated by State Council Decrees No 46/1982, No 240/1982, and No 283/1984.

(2) Beginning with the date of the present decree, compensations stipulated under item (1) will also be included in pensions that have not been modified.

Article 9. (1) Pensioners whose pensions are being increased in accordance with the present decree will continue to benefit from the right to state allowances for children stipulated by the law up to the date of the pension increase. Likewise, rents for housing, established for pensions before the increase, will remain unchanged.

(2) The provisions of item (1) are also applicable in the case of pensioners whose pensions include compensation in accordance with Article 8 item (2).

Article 10. Military service pensions for activity carried out and minimum military pensions for loss of ability to work, second-grade invalidity, will be increased in accordance with the percentages and conditions stipulated by the present decree.

Article 11. The funds required to increase occupational and old-age state social security pensions, pensions for losing working ability, pensions of war invalids, and military pensions stipulated in Article 10 will be covered from the State Budget.

Article 12. The State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Labor, Ministry of National Defense, and the Ministry of the Interior will forward—within 10 days of the date of the present decree—proposals on modifications in the economic-financial indicators of the uniform national plan for socioeconomic development, as well as in the volume and structure of the State Budget for the second half of the year, and for 1988 as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree.

Article 13. Annexes No 1-3 are an intrinsic part of the present decree. (The annexes will be published in the BULETINUL OFICIAL of the Socialist Republic of Romania.)

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Hungary's Foreign Debt Problem Noted

AU0208110588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Jul 88 p 6

["The Hungarian Economy Confronting the Foreign Debt Problem—A Report From Newspaper VASARNAPI HIREK"]

[Text] Budapest, 30 July (AGERPRES)—MTI reports that the newspaper VASARNAPI HIREK has published a report by Janos Fekete, first vice president of the National Bank of the Hungarian People's Republic, dealing with problems linked to the foreign debt and the country's financial situation. The report emphasizes, among other things, that complex problems "exist in connection with the restoration of the financial balance at home and abroad." It also notes that "at the beginning of the year the total of the country's foreign debts in terms of convertible currency amounted to $17.7 billion." This year, J. Fekete explains, Hungary will repay approximately $2 billion, while $500 million will be used to finance the deficit of the balance of payments. He also emphasized that "to make the necessary funds available for the normal progress of the economy and to rule out the need to resort to reserves, additional medium- and long-term credits of approximately $2.5 billion are needed. More than half of this sum, he said, was obtained in the first half of the year, from accords concluded with trade banks, the IMF, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Janos Fekete also noted that efforts are being made to reduce the country's foreign debt but that within this framework the share of hard currency (West German marks, Japanese yen, and Swiss francs) increased in the past years.

RCP's Coman Addresses Tunisian Congress

AU3007173188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1634 GMT 30 Jul 88

["RCP's Message to the Extraordinary Congress of the Democratic Constitutional Assembly of Tunisia"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Tunis, AGERPRES, 30/07/1988—On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party and its general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, RCP representative to the Extraordinary Congress of the Democratic Constitutional Assembly of Tunisia, read a message conveying that congress a warm salute.

It was noted with satisfaction that fine relations of friendship and collaboration existed and developed between the two parties, countries and peoples and the belief was expressed that further ways and possibilities of expanding bilateral cooperation would be identified.

The message shows that the Romanian Communist Party considers that serious and complex problems still persist in the international life, along with strong political and economic contradictions and points out that Romania believes that action should be taken for the conclusion of new accords conducive to the liquidation of all nuclear weapons, a halt to nuclear weapon tests and to outer space militarization, the elimination of chemical weapons and the reduction of conventional arms.

Consistently militating for the settlement of interstate litigious issues by political means, through negotiations, the message reads, Romania states for the establishment of a global, just and lasting peace in the Middle East on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, the resolution of the Palestinian people's question by recognizing its legitimate right to self-determination and the creation of an independent state of its own, the ensurance of the integrity, sovereignty and security of all the states in the area, and for the calling of an international conference for peace in that region, under UN aegis, to be attended by all the sides concerned, by the PLO, as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, too.

Pointing out that the Romanian people had always shown its support to and active solidarity with the fight of the peoples in Africa for the abolition of colonialism and neocolonialism, for the consolidation of national independence and for their free development on the road of economic and social progress, the RCP representative said: We support the Namibian people's just liberation fight, under SWAPO leadership, for Namibia's independence and we blame the apartheid policy promoted by the racist authorities in South Africa. He also stressed

that Romania militated for the eradication of underdevelopment and the building of a new international economic order, for an equitable solution to the foreign debt problem.

The Romanian Communist Party, the speaker said in conclusion, develops and strengthens its relations of friendship with all the communist and worker parties, with the socialist and social democratic parties, with other parties and democratic and progressive forces, on the basis of the principles of equality, independence and autonomy, of each party's right to set its revolutionary strategy and tactics, in line with the sociohistorical conditions in every country, without any outside interference.

Cessation to Persian Gulf Hostilities Called For

AU3107164988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1613 GMT 31 Jul 88

["The Interests of Peace Call for a Negotiated Settlement of the Iranian-Iraqi Conflict"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 31/7/1988—An article under the above heading "SCINTEIA" runs in its 31 July issue, stressing that the Romanian public opinion follows with special attention the developments in the Gulf area and mentioning that Romania has shown its full approval of the rational decision of the two countries in the conflict to apply the UN Security Council's Resolution 598, writes inter alia:

Socialist Romania is convinced that this provides the prerequisites for a peaceful, comprehensive settlement of the conflict considered as one of the bloodiest and most destructive in the postwar period. It is with good reason that the assessment was made that all efforts should be streamlined toward the translation into fact of the provisions of the UN resolution so as to immediately cease fire and pass on to negotiations apt to give a definitive, just and lasting solution to the problems in the Gulf. An intense activity is carried on along this line by the UN.

Unfortunately, such efforts are paralleled by the continuation of military operations in the Gulf which virtually involve all the fighting means and forms.

So, a paradox has been created: Precisely at a time when, after eight years, prospects have been opened for the first time to a peace accord, a recrudescence of war operations has emerged.

Certainly, such developments can but have highly noxious consequences primarily for the two countries' peoples that continue to suffer despite this perspective of peace. At the same time, it is obvious that the perpetuation and intensification of war operations in such a moment can create serious risks for a smooth run of the future peace negotiations.

The Romanian people, as a sincere friend of the Iranian and Iraqi peoples, "SCINTEIA" points out, expresses its hope that an undelayed end will be put to war actions by giving up the way of force and arms, that all efforts will be made by all the sides involved toward the beginning of peace negotiations above all.

As is known, from the very beginning, Romania has clearly declared through the voice of its President Nicolae Ceausescu for the cessation of hostilities, for a peaceful solution to the disputed issues. It is well-known that over this period President Nicolae Ceausescu has firmly and consistently worked for an end to the armed confrontation and the inception of peace negotiations between the belligerent parties.

Consistent with such a position, Romania expresses its hope that, in the spirit of the Resolution 598, the two countries will act to apply its provisions as soon as possible, will show wisdom and restraint, and will pass on to resolute actions for the immediate cessation of bloodshed and the beginning of negotiations.

Socialist Romania considers that everything possible should be done so as reason should ultimately prevail through renunciation of any act of force, and a stop to military operations without delay. In this spirit Romania actively backs the UN secretary-general's efforts for a passage to the carrying into effect of the Security Council's resolution, and expresses its conviction that these efforts will be furthered till the establishment of peace in the region.

It is the firm conviction of Socialist Romania, of the Romanian people that only acting this way, in a constructive spirit, with political wisdom, a just and durable peace will be established in the Gulf, in harmony with the foremost interests and aspirations of the two peoples, of peace and security worldwide, the article shows in conclusion.

PRC Embassy Reception Marks Army Anniversary

AU2907190988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/7/1988—On the 61st foundation anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the military, air and navy attache of the People's Republic of China in Bucharest, Ye Deheng, gave a reception on Friday, July 29.

Attending were members of the Steering Council of the National Defense Ministry, of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association, representatives of central institutions, generals and officers, party activists, other officials.

In the attendance were also military, air and navy attaches accredited in Romania.

Suvar Closing Remarks at LC CC Session

LD3007173088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0257 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—Even if it was not like before, awareness is very much present today in the entire LC, in the ranks of organized socialist forces, and the broadest public that the events in Kosovo are, not only in the political but also in the social and moral sense, the most difficult question and at the same time the biggest trial for the stability and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia for both the present and future of socialism, Stripe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed in his concluding speech.

Going by the statistics, Kosovo has been the weakest and potentially most explosive link in the unity of our country since 1981. We must therefore fully understand, said Suvar, that we in Yugoslavia are not only fighting a battle for Kosovo, but also a battle in Kosovo for Yugoslavia, for the preservation of the characteristics and prospects founded by the national liberation struggle, whose hallmark is the antifascist council of national liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ], characteristics that were and still are marked by Josip Broz Tito.

Regardless of how much bitterness and anxiety we may still feel at this moment, in Suvar's words, we will not and must not lose this battle, because it is not and must not be just the battle of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, or the Serbs and Montenegrins in general, or the Albanians in Kosovo themselves and our nations and nationalities who have been living there for a long time; it must also be the battle of all our nations and nationalities.

This is also, he said, a battle against backward, intolerant, and aggressive awareness, atavistic impulses, deeply rooted prejudices, brutal ethnocentrism, and the tragic and frightening ideal of the ethnically pure soil at the threshold of the 21st century.

All this which is manifested as an eruption and a brutal and perfidious daily pressure of Albanian nationalism in Kosovo, as well as in other parts of our country with a dense Albanian population, does not only threaten the Serbs and Montenegrins and members of other nations and nationalities who are on the spot, but also evokes feelings of hurt pride and even helplessness throughout Serbia and Yugoslavia, among all our people and in all our places. It even threatens to push the Albanian nationality itself into isolation, in its ethnic reservation, and a feeling may develop in its own ranks that our Yugoslavia is not its homeland, that the Albanian nationality is degenerated, forced to this, and that its future can only be solved at the detriment of the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. This will not and cannot happen warned Suvar without a great deal of blood and fire in the Balkans, Europe, and the world.

Finally, despite our desires, by failing to overcome the counterrevolutionary shock and Albanian nationalism in Kosovo, we encourage counterrevolutionary forces and nationalist aspirations and behavior in the entire country and more and more seriously call into question socialist democratic orientation. Only with such an orientation can our country get out of serious economic hardships and internal conflicts caused by bureaucracy under national, republican, and provincial flags.

Those who in 1981 or even before or after thought, living far away from Kosovo somewhere at the foot of Mt Triglav or Sljeme, on the Adriatic or Panonia, that these were alien problems or even a fresh episode of the negative pages in the history of relations between the Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo perhaps understand by now that they were mistaken, said Suvar. The "remaining" Yugoslavia has to a large extent kept its distance from the Kosovo drama and restricted its aid more or less to proclamations and routine duties of contributions for the fund of the undeveloped. There was not a sufficient understanding that a threat to people in any part of the country is also a threat to us all.

Socialism is under threat in the entire country if only because the freedom and property of Kosovos' people are endangered, above all the Serbs and Montenegrins, who tragically for all of us, were brought into the situation of a harassed minority. Consequently, Yugoslavia is also called into question as a socialist democratic community. We know how much this cost us in our prestige and role in the world, and what price we are paying.

Not even among those in our country who remain indifferent, Suvar noted, are there people who would wish for the fate of those who are emigrating from Kosovo due to pressure and harassment by Albanian nationalists. If there are, they should wake up. Would not we all run away in all directions, if once more, and now behind the facade of socialism, all our nationalisms were to begin their bloody dance, in order to break up this country and turn it into cinders and ashes?

Yugoslavia must be in Kosovo if it does not want to become Kosovo. Let us not nurture illusions that the battle can be won by strong words or short-term measures, though unfortunately at the moment, we are taking neither urgent nor undeferrable measures. The battle must be much more complex and more brains, desire, resolve, creativity, and democracy are needed instead of trumpets and arms. In this respect, it is at this moment and time the test of our ability to begin some actions and establish relations that are essential for the restructuring of socialism in Yugoslavia perhaps precisely in Kosovo, where the situation is the most difficult. It is precisely here that we must show the most resolve and knowledge, proof of fellowship, ability to reaffirm brotherhood and unity in all aspects of present times. This is also our

chance to show that democracy is not anarchy and that speedy actions and reactions, efficiency and even inflexibility are not signs of a dictatorship.

The Ninth Central Committee Session aimed at a very tangible realization of tasks in light of the fact that there was no turning point in the stabilization of relations in Kosovo. We previously proceeded such that people, however capable and regardless of whether they had previously been responsible for failures or even involved in them, or were both subjectively and objectively responsible for the outbreak of the counterrevolutionary chaos, were also implementing the program of political and any other stabilization in Kosovo. This is why it did not work and, on the contrary, despite the enormous energy contributed on the part of social forces in Kosovo, Serbia, and even in entire Yugoslavia; the situation, though more quiet in the sense that the forces of Albanian nationalism do not go out to the streets and hold open demonstrations, has even become worse deep down. Investments in Kosovo, which were not small and to which the whole of Yugoslavia contributed, not only failed to yield adequate results, but in the hands of people who through their distribution strengthened their own mediating and bureaucratically superior role, turned it into a basis for the consolidation of etatism, isolation of this province vis-a-vis Serbia and Yugoslavia, separatism, and finally the flourishing of Albanian nationalism and counterrevolutionary awareness and practice. Finally, only on the basis of the conclusions of the ninth session, measures of political responsibility were pronounced on a series of the most important people in the leadership of Kosovo, particularly in the period from the first demonstrations of Albanian nationalists in 1986 to their much more violent clashes in 1981 and later. [dates as received] However, continual calling to account has not ceased to be a topical and also acute task.

After the ninth session, stressed Suvar, significant developments were made, the processes of cadre renewal opened and the negative homogeneity and concealing of weak cadres under the imperative of the unity of the leadership were stamped out. New municipalities were founded, new buildings erected, a return to Kosovo started, and some positive processes in education and culture were initiated. Finally, the Yugoslav program for halting emigration was adopted, though there have been delays in its implementation right from the beginning. There was also the Decani case which shows in the crudest way how the laws of this country can be used against the very same country, but also resolve to clear up the matters. It also shows the resolve of some young people in Kosovo upon manifesting national and Yugoslav orientations as complementing and not opposing each other.

One of the reasons more was not achieved in Kosovo itself in the realization of the conclusions of the ninth session is the behavior of some bureaucratic structures there and also the force that conceal the fact that they are in heart the followers of Albanian nationalism and carry out the exchanges. According to them, the situation is relatively good or better, or is considerably improving, and all this is allegedly spoiled by Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists without whom the people in Kosovo would be good and obedient. In Suvar's assessment, this is very dangerous as it tends to halt as soon as possible the democratic distinction on the broad front of differentiation between positive and negative and maintain ruling relations by the policy of sacrificial lamb. This would mean going back to the policy before the ninth session, to stories about principles and empty oaths. The exponents of such policy of bureaucratic opportunism, so-called innocent observers with clean hands, are everywhere in the LCY, Kosovo included. The most difficult barrier against the changes, perhaps more difficult even than the ones directly opposing the LCY Central Committee policy [passage indistinct] This stratagem is the exponent of creating unprincipled alliances in Yugoslavia where Kosovo should serve as a permanent reserve fire of autarchy, isolationism, and separatism, but also as a leitmotiv of national gathering and the philosophy of the state nation.

The expression of such a policy was the thesis that the demonstrations of 1981 represented a result of pure social dissatisfaction and that everything had been solved with the departure of a part of the encumbent leadership, ridiculous expulsions on charges of poaching, and the adoption of the platform on Kosovo.

Thus the political line in Kosovo has in fact caused a convulsion and 6 years after 1981 everything was starting and stopping, moving forward and backward. On the other hand, said Suvar, pressures continued, dissatisfaction among the people grew, emigration went on. When we were not capable of resolving the matters, Serbian nationalism stepped forward with its nonexistent memorandum, with its Milutin and anti-Tito program. We keep repeating that nationalists take advantage of our weaknesses. They would be crazy not to. They in fact want to expel the Serbs and Montenegrins from their Kosovo homes en masse, as a proof of the collapse of Tito's Yugoslavia. They strive, noted Suvar, to negate any success and ask for the heads of all the leaders of Albanian nationality and impose ultimatums. I think that this Central Committee cannot at any moment fail in anything or make any concessions. This is why it is the matter of Yugoslavia's survival. What in the past year represented positive changes is not and cannot be enough.

We must know why anyone who emigrated did so, and if their reasons were not economic or social but political, not to mention because of nationalist terror. We will have to know who is responsible for this. I am convinced, noted Suvar, that no one in this hall and also that the great majority of people in this country and even the great majority of Albanians in Kosovo do not wish to attain the frightening goal of an ethnically pure Kosovo.

In his words, the population policy is especially important. Such a growth of the population as we have in Kosovo today is above all a serious threat to the future of the Albanian nationality itself and it threatens to keep it in the status of backwardness and poverty for decades. Social factors in Kosovo ought to urgently propose a modern and extremely concrete program of the population policy. This should not be any kind of a taboo. We are dealing with one of the most sensitive points of the realization of the Kosovo program which could also be examined in particular by the Conference of Women and the SAWP.

Factors at the level of Yugoslavia, and even our LCY Central Committee and especially factors in Serbia that pass or are charged with passing programs and tasks concerning Kosovo are today, and it seems will be tomorrow, under the direct pressure of two tendencies. One is that aid is given without taking on a responsibility for results and for integration in the development of the republic and the country, which is a tendency of isolationism and provincial etatism inclining toward nationalist flags and programs. The other one is the tendency that some kind of crude interventionism and full control, even suspension of socialist forces there, especially in the ranks of the Albanian nationality to which 80 percent of the Kosovo population belongs, should be the attitude toward social forces in Kosovo, especially the Kosovo LC.

Permanent suspicions and wishes about establishing strong state control in Serbia and Yugoslavia, right up to thinking about a powerful system of repression, even in the form of marshal law, cannot, Suvar noted, be a solution for our social forces either in Serbia or in Yugoslavia, nor would this lead, either in the short term or in the long term, to the essential improvements.

This cannot replace broad-based and profound political action, particularly among the Albanian masses, which are now, in the main, passive, and themselves exposed to the pressures of Albanian nationalism, while they also feel anxious at the possibility of being exposed to powerful upsurges in Serbian and other nationalities from Serbia and Yugoslavia. We have not yet attracted these masses to the idea of the neighborly protection of threatened Serbs and Montenegrins, Turks, and others in relation to whom the Albanians in Kosovo are a large majority. Until we win this battle, the tendency for people to live next to each other instead of together will be continued and even intensified.

In line with the ninth session, we ought, Suvar said, to speak out more and more resolutely in favor of the greatest possible and the most effective possible assistance to Kosovo, as well as in favor of investments in what integrates this province in Serbia and in Yugoslavia, things which open it up toward the republic and the country and with them beyond this and toward the world. This will bring back the Serbs and Mongentegrins to Kosovo and will attract both them and others from Yugoslavia to work and live there.

According to his standpoint, nowhere is there more need than in Kosovo for good, prompt, and suitable action and behavior by the state organs, including repression in accordance with the law and the Constitution, and the consistent and effective protection of human and citizens' rights and freedoms. The changes to the Serbian constitution should no longer be in question—the LCY Central Committee Presidium made specific decisions on this as long ago as May 1985 in its theses about the current questions of the realization of relations on which unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia are based and these in our view should finally also be put into practice.

We can bicker about the situation in Kosovo being much worse or even insignificantly better than last year, but it is important that we take action—everyone, from each LC member, each honest citizen, basic LC organization, local community, and SAWP branch, right up to this LCY Central Committee of ours and its Presidium, the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Assembly, and the FEC. Everyone must do his share of the work, Suvar stressed, but they must all have the same ultimate goal of finally rooting out the counterrevolution and establishing peace, security, and intranational harmony in Kosovo. With regard to all of us in the LCY, our actions and relations should be based on the consistent application of the principles of democratic centralism.

We in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, he said, must say in a self-critical way that over the past year we have not done and achieved enough in the implementation of our own conclusions. We have not sufficiently examined precisely what has been done, nor have we sought to establish responsibility. The ninth session was nevertheless a watershed in our policies, especially as it heralded the beginning of the break with opportunism here in the Central Committee as well but it also marked the beginning of the practice of making what this party forum concludes binding on all organizations and LCY leaderships. After all, our Central Committee cannot merely be a place for expressing this or that particular interest or viewpoint within the LCY, without itself making any kind of synthesis and making anything binding on anybody.

All 22 of the conclusions of the ninth plenum remain current and at this session, Suvar said, we have adopted a list of direct tasks in furtherance of these conclusions, in light of the current situation in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia as well. Our session ought to make a contribution toward our finally overcoming in the LCY opportunism, vacillation, failure to carry out tasks, irresponsibility, and especially the irresponsibility of leaders in implementing policy in Kosovo—which is otherwise clear in principle and has been elaborated in our already numerous documents—and in relation to Kosovo.

All our republican and provincial LC organizations, he said, must be even more involved in carrying out the programs of their environments toward Kosovo. Our Central Committee and its Presidium will give them an impetus. This also applies to all organs and organizations of the federation, in other words to Communists in them.

Members of the Central Committee and Presidium, Suvar said, will spend much more time in Kosovo. In September, we will hold a meeting of our Presidium there together with the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. Every 3 months we will consider regularly what is happening and being done in Kosovo and what the political security situation is like. We will provide concrete initiatives and make proposals, demands, and tasks for Communists and their organizations. The Presidium will report back to this Central Committee on everything of significance.

We must finally begin to establish both concretely and in a timely fashion the responsibility of individuals and leaderships in this Central Committee of ours and in all the leaderships of the LC. This must not be delayed, concluded Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

LCY Central Committee Meeting Summarized

LD3007180988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0740 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Jul (TANJUG)—A plenum of the LCY Central Committee started today in the Belgrade Sava Center. The main theme is the realization of the conclusions of the last year's Ninth LCY Central Committee Session on Kosovo. An introductory report on this will be submitted by Franc Setinc, member of the LCY CC Presidium.

The agenda envisages that the members of the highest party forum will also discuss a report on the activities of the LCY Central Committee Presidium during a recent debate on assessments and stands on the arrival of Serbian and Montenegrin citizens from Kosovo to Novi Sad on 9 July.

At the Central Committee session decisions will also be made on certain cadre questions. These include a verification of some changes in the composition of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. The Central Committee will also discuss Radovan Radonjic's resignation of his membership to the Central Committee submitted at the preceding 15th session of the top party forum.

Before the work started, Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke of the great significance of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia held 40 years ago in Belgrade.

Today it is exactly 40 years since a newly elected Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia numbering 64 members and 43 candidate members in the Central Committee met and elected the Politburo of the Central Committee and Josip Broz Tito its general secretary.

Apart from Josip Broz Tito, in the Politburo, Suvar recalled, there were also historical personalities of our revolution who together with Tito affirmed themselves in organizing the socialist revolution, leading the national liberation struggle and the country in these first glorious and difficult years of reconstruction and development.

If there is a date, place, and event which one should not only know about, but also understand, then these are the events in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia which caused a conflict with the Cominform and Stalin, the events to which the fifth congress gave the seal of proud resistance and expressed support for the following of a communist movement and an authentic socialist revolution, Suvar stressed.

The fifth congress also represents a boundary line in the sense of changes which followed after this meeting in our country and in the world of socialism. It had an echo and repercussions for the entire international workers' movement, all progressive forces in the world. Historians, writers, and politicians have said a great deal about this; people who took part in the events remember even more than that.

The restructuring of socialism, though still in the convulsions of the struggle of the old and new, vitally affirms the way of those days and also their continuity with the present day. This is also true of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. It affirms those of our decisions which in the international workers' movement, in relations among socialist countries, communist parties and in relations among nations and people established the principles which are only now coming fully to life, thus bringing back hope that socialism is the only alternative for a better world.

Democratic pluralist relations in which each nation, country, and individual with its own conditions and primarily with its own power, mind, and free orientation, and through establishing international links and acts toward this aim; that is, communism. According to Suvar this is really a socialism moved and managed by progressive human minds and human needs. Today there is no significant socialist or communist country from the CPSU to the Chinese and Eurocommunist parties which are even indirectly not preoccupied by these same events which started with the conflict between the CP of Yugoslavia and Stalin and the then Cominform. We can say with satisfaction that what is happening on the line of victory of the principles is that which we, our communist movement and forces of socialism in this country, chose 4 decades ago.

The conflict of concepts and views on socialism of 1948 is therefore much more than a conflict between Tito and Stalin, or between a communist party on the one side, which was then isolated, and between around a hundred communist parties in the world or similar organizations, Suvar said. If I am not mistaken, only two communist parties, from Iceland and Morocco, then did not publicly and fiercely condemn us. It was not a matter of a conflict between Tito and Stalin. Rather, it was a big change toward democratic socialism. For its future this is of almost equal significance as 1917, the year of October and Lenin. These are not only our assessments. This is also confirmed by the reality of the restructuring of socialism in the world on these principles.

Let us think of this when we take the responsibility for the continuity of this LCY as the one who is continuing Tito's opus. Let us think about this today as well as in the future, and let us behave in accordance with this, Suvar said.

In a discussion on the proposed agenda, the first person to ask to speak was Tomislav Radovic. He proposed striking the agenda's second item: a report on the activities of the LCY Central Committee Presidium during the adoption of the assessments and stands about the arrival and protest of Serbian and Montenegrin citizens from Kosovo in Novi Sad on 9 July this year. [passage omitted]

Stipe Suvar asked to speak, recalling that the Presidium, through the adopted stands and assessments made in connection with the arrival of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad, had bound itself before the public to brief the Central Committee on the activities undertaken. He also recalled that every Central Committee member has the right, according to the standing orders, to ask for and read shorthand reports from sessions of executive-political organs.

It is the right of the Presidium to adopt stands and assessments, but because of their content and sensitive nature at this very difficult time for our country, we thought we should ask the Central Committee for its assessment and consent, Suvar said. He noted that the Presidium had discussed workers' strikes and manifestation of class dissatisfaction on the same day, or the day after the greatest mass demonstration of workers' dissatisfaction, the arrival of Borovo workers in Belgrade. The public was thoroughly briefed on this discussion, and the conclusion of the discussion was that a Central Committee session should be prepared and held to deal with workers' strikes and the status of the working class. Last night, Suvar said, the Presidium adopted a working plan and set up a working group for the preparation of this session, which will be held, if we are successful, in the first half of September.

Suvar went on to recall the activities undertaken by the Central Committee Presidium, which are well-known to the public and the Central Committee, on the events in Slovenia. The latest events in this republic concern us all, and there should be no barriers. [as received] It is our duty to deal with them. This Central Committee can decide that we should urgently discuss this again, and put it on the agenda of not only the Presidium, but also the Central Committee, Suvar said.

The Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo are neither on the agenda, nor a problem, but because of their arrival we agreed and not only in Serbia, that the public throughout the country are very sensitive to these events. We, as the Presidium, reacted, and had to react to them. I dare to say, and you can reproach me for it, that we and relations among our leaderships are the problem, Suvar said. He went on to say that despite the Presidium's assessments and stands, the Central Committee received separate information to that of the LC Provincial Committee Presidium's and the Serbian LC Central Committee on the events in Novi Sad. From the analysis of this material, in Suvar's opinion, differences can be noticed even in the interpretation of facts.

The LCY Central Committee members were given a list of 415 telegrams and telexes addressed to the Central Committee Presidium and to the President of the Presidium. These were often lengthy letters in which LC municipal committees, party leaderships, other sociopolitical organizations, working people and citizens from local communities, and even individuals gave their views on and reaction to those events. They insist, Suvar said on a re-examination of the behavior and responsibility of leaderships, individuals, members of this Central Committee and even its Presidium, and also members of our other party leaderships. It is precisely because of this that we must talk about ourselves, Suvar said.

The comrades who cast doubt on the second item of the agenda of today's session are correct, Stanislav Stojanovic said, stressing that it is no good discussing Albanian separatism and nationalism in the context of the departure of the Serbs and Montengrins from Kosovo to Novi Sad. Especially, he said, as the situation in the province today is the most serious political and moral problem, and their arrival in the capital of Vojvodina was an episode which disturbed the public, not because of these citizens' arrival, but because of the reaction to the citizens. For this reason, Stojanovic stressed, we cannot put on the same level a nationalist counterrevolution in Kosovo and a gathering of people from this province. [passage omitted]

Stipe Suvar noted that today was the first time that Central Committee members expressed their displeasure over not receiving and reading the shorthand report from the Presidium session, though it was available.

Suvar, speaking about the Presidium session, said that there are no secret sessions, but as far as he knows there is no political movement or party in the world which does not have closed leadership sessions. We can be an exception, he continued, but not to our own disadvantage.

Giving his view on the controversial issue Milovan Sogorov appealed for it not to be removed from the agenda of the session, pointing out that the assessments and stands of the Presidium were well-known and that they needed to be verified so that concrete political action could be taken. Speaking about the session of the Presidium Sogorov did not accept the assessments whereby this session was behind closed doors. I attended the session myself, he said, and it was not secret just because it was not open to public. [sentence as received]

After a 1-hour discussion the Central Committee decided by a large majority to remove the second item from the agenda of today's session. Franc Setinc then submitted an introductory report on the realization of the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Session.

Milka Kikovic, the first participant in the discussion, proposed that the LCY Central Committee Presidium prepare a report with, in her words, names and surnames of the Central Committee members who disputed or were not committed in the realization of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Session on Kosovo. This is essential because of the differentiation in our ranks, stressed Milka Kikovic. [passage omitted]

Working people from Bosnia-Hercegovina, stressed Mato Andric, pursue the LCY policy on Kosovo, vigorously condemning the protagonists of the counterrevolution. Seriously concerned about the exacerbation of intranational relations in Kosovo they support all those who contribute to efforts to overcome this situation, while doing as much as they can themselves. [passage omitted]

Apart from this the LCY Central Committee, in Andric's words, must be more "Yugoslav." We should overcome narrow-mindedness because lack of unity will not be tolerated for a long time. It is exceptionally important that the LCY and all its parts should make a clear distinction between national and nationalist, concluded Andric. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted, TANJUG part 14 not received]

According to Gracanin the differences in the realization of the Yugoslav program are significant, which means that all of us do not approach its realization with the same will and readiness. We ought to stop such an attitude and irresponsibility. Because ways out of this situation in Kosovo do exist; they have been established and I am deeply convinced that we have enough strength to realize these orientations without delay, which means that the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Session and the Yugoslav program should be implemented in a more united and consistent manner.

Commenting on protest gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins, Gracanin said that they were an expression of the difficulties of life and the gravity of the situation which was not improving. Nobody has the right, he stressed, to demand suffering from the Serbian and Montenegrin populations, who have been deprived of their rights, and prevent them from fighting for equality and peaceful life. It is certain that the best way for this lies in the existing institutions. There is no doubt, Gracanin added, that all progressive forces in Kosovo, Serbia, and elsewhere in Yugoslavia would make efforts toward tackling the problems if citizens of Albanian nationality were under threat as Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are at this juncture. By defending family hearth, dignity, peaceful life, and spiritual and national identity of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo we are actually defending the same right and freedom of each of our citizens in every other part of the country.

Troubles in Kosovo have also taken been taken advantage of by Serbian nationalists who stress that the LC is not in a position to deal with all the problems. Any kind of nationalism is lethal because of its anticommunist essence and in our conditions it is also directed against socialism and Yugoslavia, Gracanin stressed. That is why the Serbian LC and all organized forces do not underestimate Serbian nationalism and have a clear line for differentiation toward it. We are fighting and shall fiercely fight against all those who act from these positions.

Gracanin then stressed that all constitutional and legal measures for the protection of personal, property, and legal security of all citizens in Kosovo should be undertaken urgently. If this is not done, there could be intranational conflicts of wider proportions with exceptionally difficult human, political, and security consequences. Everything must be done so that this does not happen. The LCY Central Committee, as the most responsible body, is called upon to undertake measures for a lasting solution in Kosovo. Ways out do exist, Gracanin stressed, and added that changes to the constitutions of Serbia and the SFRY would also contribute to a more successful handling of these problems.

The SFRY Presidency considers that the political situation has become more difficult in the past 2 months and that it is burdened with serious danger to the internal stability of the country as a whole. We are faced with strong manifestations of dissatisfaction among working people and citizens due to the long-lasting economic crisis, a fall in the standard of living, unjustified social differences, the situation in Kosovo, and accumulated social difficulties in general. This dissatisfaction is increasingly manifested through work stoppages, protests at the SFRY Assembly, and even through radicals' political demands, said Dolanc, noting that he was charged on behalf of the SFRY Presidency to put forth some assessments and stands that were made in the SFRY Presidency in the past 2-3 months.

In the opinion of the SFRY Presidency, the only possible and priority task concerning the overcoming of the political and economic crisis and the beginning of a stable development of the country is the consistent realization of the economic reform.

One of the basic prerequisites in Dolanc's words is the resolving of those social problems that may weaken its course and impede the realization of necessary measures. Those are also the majority of causes of social disruptions, growing dissatisfaction of the part of the working class and the exacerbation of the political situation. Speaking on the increasingly frequent strikes and workers' dissatisfaction, Dolanc noted that some of these stoppages could have been avoided had there been timely reactions and had we satisfied the justified demands of workers in time.

However, we cannot pursue the course of unrealistic promises, which has already been manifested in a number of strikes. Workers should be realistically and truly informed of the financial situation and the possibilities of meeting their demands.

Speaking on the situation in the country, Dolanc said that the SFRY Presidency is particularly concerned about the exacerbation of intranational relations, the escalation of nationalism and increasingly aggressive attacks on the gains of the revolution. Nationalism is also infiltrating into the ranks of organized socialist forces and there are also incidents of flirting with nationalists. On this basis concepts of national homogenization appear. All this threatens to cause broad national divisions and isolation. Instead of resolute reactions and organization of political struggle against such phenomena there is an increasingly prominent interest of one's own nation, nationality, republic, ad province, while the class factor and mutual interests of Yugoslavia as a whole remain in the background. [passage omitted]

It is an illusion that the situation in Kosovo can be changed overnight because this is a process of the restoring of trust and security of all the working people and citizens of the province, stressed Milovan Sogorov, pointing out that this was in the interest of all nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia today. This is why I think it necessary at this session to critically and thoroughly access what we have achieved in the LCY concerning the realization of the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Session and consolidate our overall activity with this knowledge ensuring much greater efficiency. [passage omitted]

From 1981 until the end of June this year, on the basis of funds from the federation fund via direct integration from Vojvodina, 32 programs are being realized in Kosovo ensuring productive employment of nearly 7,000 workers. Over one-fourth of the total accumulation of Vojvodina is being allocated for this purpose.

Definite results have been achieved in stamping out separatism and nationalism in Kosovo, which are important for the further work on changing the unfavorable situation, said Mihail Danev, stressing that the situation in the province remained complex.

The enemy in Kosovo continues its perfidious activities, he continued, which is illustrated by the fact that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins goes on. In order to change the situation it is necessary to consistently implement the political platform on Kosovo and also constitutionally regulate the position of Serbia and its functions on the entire territory of the republic. [passage omitted]

Chairman of the session Milica Pejanovic briefed the LCY Central Committee members before the next speaker took the floor that a group of about 200 citizens from Kosovo had arrived in Belgrade and that they went back to Kosovo at about 1300. The citizens from Kosovo extended a telegram to the LCY Central Committee prior to their departure expressing trust in the highest-ranking organs of the LCY and demanding that conditions be ensured for the halting of further emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins from this province.

Borut Suklje then took the floor stressing that the key problem of Kosovo was emigration and that the LCY Central Committee must give a clear reply to this question. [passage omitted]

Nikola Jovanovic demanded that Vlasi should explain who is forcing whom? He thinks that Vlasi should reply to the question whether the meetings so far were held through the intervention of Serbian nationalists or whether they were organized by the Socialist Alliance, the LC, or any other sociopolitical organizations.

Vlasi says, Jovanovic quoted, that we have substantially changed the situation in Kosovo in relation to 1981 form the point of view of cadre changes. But the situation is more violent than before and is continually deteriorating. His assessment is not clear. I dissociate myself from this part of Vlasi's speech as a member of the LCY Central Committee, stressed Jovanovic.

When mentioning the means of force, replied Vlasi, I had in mind what we have to do up to now. Over 1,000 people were criminally prosecuted and over 4,000 for offenses. However, this is only what is necessary when protecting the system from every aspect of hostile activity. But we must also take political actions; this is not some kind of a new thesis of my own invention.

I spoke about the ways in which we carried out essential changes in the cadre policy, said Vlasi, and I did not say that we have reached perfection.

I also said that no one automatically protected anyone from responsibility. I hope I am clear, unless the questions were raised because it has become a habit in the political life to have questions and replies all the time, said Vlasi.

Full support should be given to Albanian Communists because they bear a great burden and responsibility for overcoming of the situation in Kosovo, said Josip Bukovcan.

He described the situation in the Kamenica municipality as stable, though general conditions are fairly complex. Intranational relations are not disturbed and a great deal has been done in the sphere of halting the emigration and return of those who had left their homes. [passage omitted]

Their is no need for anyone to dispute what has been done and achieved in Kosovo, Serbia, and the entire country, noted Marko Orlandic. On the contrary, we should reaffirm every concrete positive example because they exist. But, we have no right to overlook the facts which illustrate the increasingly difficult situation. It is not the question of the situation in Kosovo changing slowly, but the fact that it has been aggravated, especially in the past few months. It is such, thinks Orlandic, that no one has the right to mitigate or diffuse it, and such tendencies are not rare. Their advocates cannot be good allies in efforts to resolutely change the situation, nor can they count upon the trust of those who are most directly and brutally threatened in Kosovo; namely, Serbs and Montenegrins. Our task at this session is not at all easy, but it is unavoidable, noted Orlandic calling for audacious explanation why the situation got worse, why there is no progress concerning key issues, what was omitted, and who is responsible for it. Our facing reality is unavoidable. Those who are not ready for it have no right to think about the future.

It can be said, said Orlandic, that the overall action for the realization of the conclusions of the ninth session, especially since the end of last year, has been neither consistent nor comprehensive and responsible, above all in Kosovo, as well as in the entire country and at the level of the highest LCY and federal organs.

These are really crucial questions, whose consequences can in no way be restricted to Kosovo or Serbia but have direct impact on the entire country and its internal and international status. They are the questions that concern all of us in Yugoslavia. For this reason, according to Orlandic's stand, we should not reconcile ourselves to the description of the situation at any moment. We should move on and find out where we failed and who were the culprits. In particular, we must call to account members of the leaderships at all levels. We should not hesitate to pinpoint those responsible, he said. For instance, said Orlandic, Rahman Morina is here with us. He must feel that he is one of those directly responsible for explaining the political aspects of the security situation and why it is becoming worse. Of course, he and the top people from organs of internal affairs from provinces to the federation are not the only ones, because our platform is not a police platform but above all a political and democratic one. Who is likely to believe us at all unless we place all these questions in their right order.

Suspicion and divisions have become deeper, said Orlandic, which means that the entire activity in this direction was not sufficient. One can sooner say that to a large extent we have all failed. We have allowed further divisions and stratification in the Kosovo LC, above all on the national basis. A question arises here as to how this LC organization can be a reliable support to the realization of the established policy. Looking at it from the aspect of the situation in some Kosovo environments, did we in the Kosovo LC manage to fight for and win our policy? How come can it not overcome divisions and polarization in its own ranks. Did we do all we can to ensure that our policy takes over in all parts of the Kosovo LC. [passage omitted]

We cannot explain to anyone that after more than 7 years since the outbreak of the massive escalation of the counterrevolution in Kosovo there has been no substantial progress. This is increasingly becoming an obstacle, said Orlandic, to our cooperation in the international field. Moreover, even if we were not weighed down by other troubles, this counterrevolutionary activity, which has been going on for so long, cannot remain without consequence for our internal situation and for the system itself, which simply has to be defended with political and all other constitutional and legal regulations.

Of course, he believes, we cannot ignore the impact of the increasingly serious socioeconomic situation, which is very grave indeed throughout the country but no doubt is most serious of all in Kosovo. Of course, this cannot in any way justify the pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins to leave or the many shortcomings of the organs in protecting constitutionality and legality. However, there is not doubt that such an economic and social situation makes the efforts to stabilize the situation very difficult. [passage omitted]

I should like to suggest that as early as September we should start a discussion in this Central Committee on the most important issues of the political situation in the country because there are many reasons that cannot be put off for holding the session. I think that any procrastination could be harmful, said Orlandic in conclusion.

For overcoming the situation in Kosovo, Sinan Hasani said, the role of a united front of the nations and nationalities of the province is particularly important. Its action in crushing Albanian nationalism and separatism is more effective than administrative measures, which up to now have not given the desired results either. This is important, Hasani stressed, because Albanian nationalism is a bad thing for Albanians themselves in Kosovo, because the counterrevolution wants to bring back the dark relations of fascism and Stalinism.

For the purposes of creating more favorable conditions for the operation of the united front, he went on, there should be an end to differing assessments about the situation in Kosovo, which sometimes also come from the leaderships themselves, because our prospects lie in

joint work. At the same time, Hasani stressed, the practice of unreasoned name-calling has gained in momentum throughout the country, and in this way not a small number of Kosovo leaders have had their names called out and been labeled without any foundation. Pointing to the negative consequences of this practice, Hasani said that the LC must put a stop to it because unless this is done the action of a united front of the nations and nationalities of the province in the struggle against nationalism and separatism will not be possible.

In a subsequently disclosed discussion, which was made available to journalists, Sinan Hasani said that in the constitutional changes there should be adherence to the initiatives of the SFRY Presidency, and the decisions and stances of the 13th LCY Congress and the LCY Conference, according to which the organs of the republics and two provinces have already acted and thus reduced the number of differences. These changes can, he assessed, be used as a reason for further rapprochement and the creation of unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia and the SFRY. Entrenchment or the imposition at any price of one's own stances must be rejected as an unacceptable method for solving the most sensitive work of our society, which, it is quite certain, includes the constitutional changes, Hasani said. [passage omitted]

We are united in the assessment that this is a matter of an exceptionally important problem, the resolution of which depends in large measure on overall social development, Josip Vrhovec said, pointing in particular to the great damage that is occurring as a result of emigration. The consequences are so serious that any "energy or expenditure" invested in halting emigration would repay itself. There is no doubt whatsoever that in Kosovo the question of the personal and property security of people is of primary importance.

Albanians, as the majority in Kosovo, must comprehend the ensuring of security for everyone as their priority task, Vhrovec stressed, pointing out that the problems of demographic policy in this province seem for the time being unsolvable.

Mentioning that the LC bears great responsibility for the emigration and bad personal relations in Kosovo, he said that the concrete struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism is vital for the mobilization of Albanians in the program of brotherhood, unity, and togetherness as well. There should be no let up in the struggle against any one nationalism, Vrhovec stressed, adding that for the LC there would not be justification unless it is effectively involved in settling circumstances in Kosovo.

Unless a clear line is drawn between the misuse of the essential interests of people, room is necessarily opened up for nationalist manipulation. Finally, Vrhovec concluded, the LCY Central Committee must be informed more regularly and in more detail about the situation in Kosovo. After all, the information that arrives from the state security organs often differs very greatly from political reports, in which the situation is presented in milder tones. [passage omitted]

Dusan Ckrebic devoted most of his debate speech to the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia.

Surely it is clear today that to rectify some constitutional changes, which are the product of specific circumstances in 1974 and of those times, and which are shaking the SR of Serbia and thereby also the whole of the country, has become not only a political inevitability but a deep-seated requirement and condition for the stability of the country. [passage omitted]

Ckrebic then returned to the situation in Kosovo and made the assessment that the security situation in the province last year deteriorated seriously. He illustrated this point by saying that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins still goes on and that security and safety for people of Montenegrin and Serbian nationality and for their property do not exist. This is perhaps the most devastating fact because what we are talking about here is safegurding the elementary constitutional rights of every citizen. Any other positive assessment on any subject whatsoever, however accurate, objective, or useful it may be, is, in Ckrebic's view, cast in the shadow of this harsh fact. International mistrust has got worse, and so has national division. The institutions and organs of the state in Kosovo are performing poorly, formalism has been extended to unheard of limits, and the indifferent attitude toward the low-level of security of the citizens is driving the people into self- organization because the confidence in the organs of authority has been seriously shaken.

Ckrebic believes that the work of the security organs is unsatisfactory and this why the work of these organs has to be analyzed. He said that the LCY Central Committee Presidium is literally snowed under by reports on individual nationalistic attacks and excesses. However, during the past year it never put the security situation in Kosovo on its agenda.

Ckrebic did not agree with, as he put it, some of Azem Vlasi's reflections. It is true that Kosovo is not a special zone but then there has been a special situation in Kosovo for years, and for special situations one requires special measures, both state measures and political ones.

In conclusion he said that the LCY Central Committee Presidium must seriously change its method of work as far as the counterrevolution in Kosovo is concerned, it should secure complete continuity, and it should introduce more systematic substance into its work instead of becoming active just before a session in Kosovo.

Vukasin Micunovic immediately asked to be given the floor. He asked Ckrebic whether as a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium he had taken the initiative for the security situation in Kosovo to be discussed, and if he had not, whether he felt responsible for the fact that this had not been done.

I feel responsible for the issue not being put on the agenda, replied Ckrebic, recalling that he had spoken in context of future tasks. He said that the Presidium on several occasions planned to discuss the security situation as a whole. It was thought that this topic should be discussed together with the SFRY Presidency, but this did not happen because one had come to the conclusion that joint meetings should be avoided. Ckrebic also recalled that the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium was a member of the Council for the Protection of the Contitutional System.

Bosko Krunic, who recently was president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, also asked to speak on the same topic. He said that there had not been specific demands for this issue to be discussed more often and that the responsibility for that must be shared equally by all Presidium members. In this sense I do not feel more responsible than other Presidium members. However, executive-political organs of the LCY Central Committee on several occasions discussed the implementation of the conclusions of the Ninth Session of the LCY Central Committee, especially the 6-monthly report, including the security situation within the scope of that report, said Krunic. [passage omitted]

We adopted a Yugoslav program on Kosovo. However, the insensitivity of the action differs from environment to environment so that we can say that on the whole it is unsatisfactory, said Gacic, joining the suggestions that the responsibility for the nonimplementation for this program, which cannot, as he put it, be Yugoslav in name alone, should be spelled out.

Speaking of the complex nature of Kosovo's problems and about the differences in the assessment of the key issues Gacic warned about opportunism and the idle nature of forum work. Political work is not productive because it addresses itself to forums and not the people.

According to Gacic, Stane Dolanc's assessment today made it clear that everything should be done to ensure the safety of the Serbs and Montenegrins.

As far as gatherings by members of one single nation are concerned, Gacic said that surely in themselves they are not a solution. However, if there is no efficient political action and efficient work by state organs, they become a kind of self-protection, said Gacic.

Is it possible that the counterrevolution in Kosovo still goes on and that there are no people among us who are responsible for that, wondered Branka Obrenic.

For years we have been saying that we must go out among the people and now we have lived long enough to see that the people are coming to us. Why are we here then and whose representatives are we if we are not in a position to defend the rights of our working people and citizens? We are under an obligation to answer the question of whether we have fulfilled our tasks or whether we believe it was enough to pass the conclusions at the ninth session said Branka Obrenic. [passage omitted]

Joining the discussion, Josip Hrvatin, nevertheless, did not miss the opportunity to stress the exceptional importance of the unity of the leadership, something that is also a precondition for unity in the whole of society and for bringing back intranational trust among the nations and nationalities. The creation of these preconditions is expected by the people, above all from the LC. In particular, Hrvatin spoke in favor of re-establishing the disrupted brotherhood and unity in Kosovo, believing that everyone who is not involved in this should leave their posts.

For the purpose of the more rapid resolution of the difficult problems in Kosovo, and in the view of Bogdan Trifunovic, true unity within the LC is necessary. It is high time to put an end to the passive attitude toward Kosovo's problems and to remove the suspicions and all too easily made accusations that encourage the separatists, he warned, stressing that there can be no peaceful talk on the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins as a continuing process. Surely it is clear that the number of Serbs and Montenegrins in the province has been reduced to less than 10 percent. Why, he wondered, are all the constitutional and legal means for their protection from assaults of the Albanian nationalists who are stimulating emigration not used?

The statistic of 4,000 Serbs and Montenegrins—the number that have returned to Kosovo since 1981—is not to be underestimated, but is it worth bearing in mind that this is only 1/7 or ⅛ of the total number of 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins who emigrated in this period. Thus urgent and decisive political and economic measures are necessary to halt emigration and stimulate a return to Kosovo. After all, there is no point in smooth talking by some people in the republics and Vojvodina, accompanied by an understanding of the problems of Serbs and Montenegrins and condemnation of Albanian separatism, unless it is accompanied by decisive political and economic actions. This is why the LCY Central Committee ought to have a firm standpoint on not allowing any delay in the resolution of Kosovo's problems. Strengthening responsibility, cadres who are compromised should be replaced, Trifunovic believes.

Also unacceptable is the dangerous tendency for virulent yet generalized talk by some political functionaries, both within and outside Kosovo about Albanian separatist nationalism, while there is talk about the so-called single

national gatherings and protests of Serbs and Montenegrins virtually as if this was the main problem and the destabilizing factor, Trifunovic stressed. I have the impression, on the basis of listening to speeches, that part of Azem Vlasi's speech contained such an assessment at its core, he added. I do not agree with such assessments, not only because I believe they have no political basis and are incomplete, but above all because objectively speaking, they can renew the distrust of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, something that nevertheless divides people in Kosovo and thus diminishes the effects of the LC conclusions, especially with respect to halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins.

The LC and this Central Committee have assessments on the causes and consequences of attempts at counterrevolution in Kosovo and on everything that should be undertaken in order to remove the causes of single-nation gatherings. We also have established concrete tasks. All the dangers cannot therefore be equal nor can the priorities in LC action be confused, Trifunovic believes.

Having recalled the justified great effort of the SR of Serbia to help the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and others who live in Kosovo, Trifunovic said that this is being done at a time of difficult economic problems in the republic. Outside the SR of Serbia, the fact is often lost sight of that by far the greatest number of the 200,000 Serbs and Montenegrins who have emigrated from Kosovo in the last 20 or 30 years have settled in so- called Serbia proper. The problems both of these people and of these environments are huge, especially in the towns where setlement has taken place and with regard to employment, new schools, communal facilities, etc.. There is probably no need to prove what the emigration under duress of such a large number of people means for these environments and for the republic as a whole, while neither their republic, nor their federation, nor the socialist social order succeeded in preventing this, i.e. in guaranteeing them a peaceful, secure, and equal life in Kosovo, Trifunovic stressed. [passage omitted]

Boris Stanovski included opportunism, vacilation, and a passive attitude toward established policy among the basic reasons for the unsatisfactory implementation of the conclusions of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum. He pointed out, in particular, that the political security situation in Macedonia is burdened by the operation of Albanian nationalism and separatism, which is also a confirmation that its strongholds have not been unmasked and eliminated.

Also worrying, Stanovski believes, is the fact that we speak in a very distorted way about the high birth rate in Kosovo, which in an economic sense, much more developed environments would not be unable to tolerate, either. I cannot accept, he said, that such a situation will continue in future. It is impermissible that we are only talking about all this on the threshold of the 21st century, but not doing anything about it. [passage omitted]

Narandza Jovanov opposed a proposal to form, within the framework of the SAWPY, a coordinating body with the task of uniting acivity aimed at stabilizing conditions in Kosovo. This would mean that we are shifting responsibility from the LC to other sociopolitical organizations.

Speaking in favor of the clear pointing out of all who do not fulfil their obligations in the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, she assessed that it is not possible to stabilize conditions in this province without corresponding changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia. This will enable the republic to acquire all the functions of statehood as possessed by the other republics in Yugoslavia. In Serbia, as she put it, there is no longer a compromise, but the time has come for well-argued changes.

Owing to the failure to fulfil the concrete obligations arising from the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Plenum on Kosovo, Narandza Jovanov said that the Ninth LCY Central Committee and its Presidium must be exceptionally self-critical. At the end, she proposed that the LCY Central Committee entrust the Presidium with the task of establishing the concrete responsibility of all those who have not carried out established policy in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Boris Srebric was critical of the fact that some general assessments in a memorandum of the LCY Central Committee Presidium incline, he said, toward some kind of balancing process. In one of them, it is at the same time stated that important goals are not being achieved, that differing assessments exist, that the situation in Kosovo has a major impact on the situation in the country, and that the situation in the country, in return, impedes positive changes in the situation in Kosovo. Thus, Srebric said, we lose out in the consequential labyrinth. [passage omitted]

The inefficiency of state and other organs in Kosovo in the protection of the elementary rights of Serbs and Montenegrins, as well as of other nationalities, cannot be justified by any means. Also intolerable is the evident slowness in removing the material and other injustices state and other organs caused earlier to citizens, in crude infringment of the law, Srebic said. The effective implementation of LCY policy on Kosovo, Srebric went on to say, demands more effective activity, above all by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. In this way, the support and help of the Serbian LC Central Committee to this provincial committee will have a much greater range than at present. The current Kosovo LC Provincial Committee should not bear any kind of mortgage left over from great and impermissable political failures by an earlier Kosovo leadership, which permitted the long-term infiltration of Albanian nationalism into all the pores of social life in Kosovo. However, the provincial committee must confirm its competence and readiness

in overcoming the difficult political situation in Kosovo. Its own assessment that the republican organs and the institutions of the organization are more active than the provincial ones in implementing the Yugoslav program is not beneficial to it. [passage omitted]

Ali Saban spoke most of all about the activities of the Kosovo Youth Organization in overcoming the existing problems and in strengthening brotherhood and unity. In this context, he particularly stressed cooperation with the republican youth organizations of Serbia and Slovenia. The conclusion of the Ninth Session of the LCY Central Committee, according to Saban, met with broad support among the largest section of the young generation. Among young people, the consciousness has strengthened that it is only through the concrete actions and efforts of all individuals that the situation can be changed, emigration halted, and the operation of Albanian nationalism and separatism, as well as the increasingly explicit, frequent, and organized operation of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism, prevented.

It is not possible, he stressed, to mobilize the people for action if their efforts are constantly negated and if everything is questioned. He drew attention to the fact that increasingly frequently severe allegations are voiced against the nations and nationalities, and there is name-calling of cadres who have convinced themselves of Tito's road and the correctness of the LCY program. There are also accusations that the nationalities are insecure elements for the security of the borders. I believe, Saban said, that the fundamental motive for these criticisms is the failure to realize Tito's idea that the republics and provinces, nations and nationalities, should affirm themselves on a self-managing basis.

It is incomprehensible, Nikola Jovanovic said, that no one is responsible for the very bad security system in Kosovo. It seems that we in the Central Committee and other forums do not know how to oppose Albanian separatism and nationalism, he said, asking what then were the results we were achieving. In this connection, Jovanovic proposed that an examination be made of the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and above all of its hitherto president, Bosko Krunic, who during his mandate as president only visited Kosovo once, and of Kolj Siroka, who, as a member of the Federal council for the Protection of the Constitutional System has not once during the last year given information to this forum on the situation in the province.

The people are requesting that those who play dangerous games be removed without a struggle. All those who foment national intolerance must leave the leadership, Mihajlo Pesic said.

The least that is expected of us is that we will establish responsibility for the failure to implement the conclusions of the ninth session, both in the Central Committee and in the LCY Presidium.

It is as though we still cannot see a way out of the situation in Kosovo, said Taip Taipi, adding that this is having a very unfavorable effect on the overall situation in the country. However, he warned that nationalists in other environments are presenting the situation in Kosovo as more serious than it was. They are not differentiating between Albanian nationalists and the Albanian nationality as a whole, which contributes to the spreading of anti-Albanian feeling, said Taipi.

Kosovo is sometimes presented as a serious and dangerous peripheral area with no prospects, as if it were outside Yugoslavia and Serbia. this does not lead anywhere, he noted, asking whether it could not be seen that with such ideas the position of an organized political force with responsibility for the future of the country is being taken away from the LC.

Whether we wish to recognize the fact or not, said Taipi, disunity, opportunism and distrust are present in the LC, and he added that such practices must be changed. The public expects much from every one of our sessions, including this one, and above all the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo expect much from this session and this is why they gave up their announced mass journey to Belgrade. Honest Albanians, who are seriously affected by the situation created by counterrevolution in Kosovo, also expect a lot. Taipi spoke in detail about assistance to the judicial organs in Kosovo and the results of the work of these organs.

In the LC of the province, said Kacusa Jasari, there is an awareness that regardless of the fact that party conclusions are binding and specific for the whole of the LC, most of the responsibility for their implementation lies with the Communists and progressive forces of the province.

Now, she stressed, the organs of power and the sociopolitical organizations are reacting more energetically and rapidly to excesses and other negative phenomena. In the economic sphere, besides the existence of very serious problems, significant efforts are being made in the area of pooling labor and resources with the aim of changing the economic structure of the province and linking it more firmly to the framework of the Yugoslav market, which would certainly contribute to closer links for the working class also.

At the same time, the very fact that we are not slowing down the most serious consequence of counterrevolutionary events, the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, that we continue to have a cooling of intranational relations, testifies that we are removing the causes of these tendenies with insufficient efficiency. [passage omitted]

Changes to the Constitution must be carried out on the basis of party documents adopted at the 13th congress and the theses of the party conference. However, we do not agree with politicization, which will have negative

results, which will result in the discussion not being democratic or constructive. Also Kacusa Jasari warned if we carry on in this way this is what will happen. All this creates a homogenization within the framework of the nation, regardless of ideological orientations, and we should then ask ourselves: Where is this leading us? We are increasingly preoccupied with national interests and we increasingly neglect class interests.

Following this speech, Stefan Korosec, who was presiding, informed the members of the Central Committee that next week they would be able to inspect the shorthand notes from the 2-day long session of the LCY Central Committee Pesidium.

Korosec also said that 23 telegrams had been received by the Central Committee, although there were some critical comments.

It cannot be denied that certain results have been achieved in Kosovo, and this is encouraging. However it is a cause for concern to Communists and members of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] that, despite the very good conclusions adopted by the LCY Central Committee, the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists has been going on continuously now for almost 8 years, that the political and security situation in Kosovo continues to be very serious and complex. Today we have heard that with regard to some issues it is even growing worse, warned Anton Lukezic.

It is particularly worrying that the factors which contribute to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins have not been eliminated, that lately intranational relations have become increasingly strained and differences more profound, and that the difficulties and problems of the Serbian and Montenegrin citizens of Kosovo are being abused in order to spread other forms of nationalism and revanchism.

The type of activity of the Albanian nationalists up to now, which has mainly been in the area of propaganda, is beginning to be even more extreme, including preparations for acts of sabotage and terrorism in the country. This is confirmed, among other things, by information on the discovery of attempts at illegal groups in YPA units.

In the Army, despite measures which have been undertaken to eradicate all forms of nationalist activity, there is a marked increase in the number of members of the Albanian nationality acting from hostile positions. Last year this increase was 51 percent more than the year before last. And in the first 6 months of this year there was an 82 percent increase over the previous period.

At the same time, there was an 46 percent increase in YPA members of other nationalities who manifested revanchism towards the Albanian nationality. A growth in manifestations of nationalism connected with the situation in the SAWP of Kosovo was registered in the period following the Ninth Session of the LCY Central Committee, and in particular following the crime in the Paracin barracks. For example, a total of 205 members of Albanian nationality justified the crime in Paracin and threatened similar actions, while 95 YPA members of other nationalities, in connection with this crime, manifested revanchism and distrust towards members of the Albanian nationality, said Lukezic.

In 1987 the organized activity was terminated of 5 illegal groups with 31 soldiers of Albanian nationality who had taken positions of Albanian nationalism. In the first 6 months of this year, 8 groups have been discovered with 69 members of Albanian nationality who had exerted a negative influence on another 100 soldiers of that nationality. It was established that the organizers and some of the members of the groups before entering the YPA had been members of illegal groups and that they had had specific contacts with hostile Albanian emigres and the Albanian intelligence service. These illegal groups focused on calling for armed rebellion in the barracks; the murder of soldiers and officers; deserting to Kosovo and participating in an armed uprising if it arose; the poisoning of soldiers' and officers' food; obtaining weapons and ammunition for the needs of an uprising in Kosovo; and so on. It is characteristic that cases of damage to military installations and facilities, telephone lines, fortified facilities, and so on are most frequent on the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

There have also been provocations and attacks against YPA members, some of which bore the characteristics of planned provocations, as was the case in Pristina, Urosevac, Djakovica, and Pec. Last year we recorded 99 such cases. The trend is the same this year. Albanian nationalists are increasingly calling for the creation of illegal groups, but also for activity through legal channels by penetrating the various institutions of our system in order, as they put it, to win over the masses, stressed Lukezic. And they are also advocating the creation of a wider Albanian nationalist front against Serbs; and this front, in their view, should also be joined by nationalists and other hostile forces from other parts of our country. Every further escalation of the crisis in the country, bad intranational relations in other parts of the country, an insufficiently combative attitude towards other nationalists and antisocialist phenomena, all of these encourage Albanian nationalists and separatists, said Lukezic.

As far as the duties and tasks of Communists in the YPA and the organs of the LC are concerned—these tasks being leadership, command, and other subjects connected with building the Army—we have developed measures and activities and an adequate scope of action in connection with the situation in Kosovo. Communists and the overall administration of the Army, particularly the permanent administration of the Army, are troubled by the fact that tasks in connection with Kosovo are carried out slowly and in some cases not at all. They are

particularly troubled that we are almost powerless to halt the process of emigration by Serbs and Montenegrins. If this is not halted quickly, we believe that an even more serious situation will develop.

We discover nationalists quite quickly and prevent them from carrying out more activity. In the YPA we are conducting organized activities and measures are being taken in all elements of self-protection in order to eradicate hostile influence and activities against the Armed Forces, particularly in connection with preventing attempts by enemies to penetrate the Army and to conduct organized illegal work. The focus of our activities, added Lukezic, has been and will continue to be the development of an ideo-political awareness of Yugoslav-socialist patriotism among YPA members.

A particularly important task is to protect the Armed Forces from penetration and activity by foreign agents, and particularly from organized hostile activities, and to prevent terrorist acts, sabotage, and other subversive activities by external and internal enemies. We have taken and will continue to take legal measures, both criminal and disciplinary, against the most extreme proponents and organizers of hostile activity, noted Lukezic. By means of a political education program for soldiers, we are informing young soldiers in a continuous and comprehensive way about the situation and the aim of the conclusions of the ninth session and the Yugoslav program for Kosovo. Lukezic went on to stress the cooperation which exists with sociopolitical communities and organizations, with cultural, educational, sports, and other institutions in Kosovo. In plans for cooperation in joint activities forms of collective activity were represented which related above all to work actions together with young people and the local population, he said. Finally, Lukezic proposed that the Central Committee create a special group to monitor activities to carry out all the duties and tasks of the ninth plenum and the Yugoslav program on Kosovo and, as an assisting organ, to propose to the Presidency and the Central Committee which measures should be taken.

Borisav Jovic expressed his disagreement with some of Josip Vrhovec's claims. Vrhovec claimed, said Jovic, that the Serb and Montenegrin people in Kosovo are organizing themselves within the framework of legal institutions in order to defend their elementary human and national rights. The basic reason for that is not the nationalists, but the shortcomings of the legal organs of the state and of our society who with their indolent attitude forced them into this sort of situation. Serb and Montenegrin nationalists are trying to impose themselves but their strength and influence are marginal, thanks mainly to the fact that the LC's of Serbia and Kosovo tackled this problem and have kept the situation under control.

In connection with Vrhovec's statement that reports by the security service suggest that a very organized and dangerous enemy is involved, Jovic asked Vrhovec what, if what he says is true, as a member of the SFRY Presidency he had done to have these well organized and dangerous enemies arrested, punished, and foiled. Surely this country, said Jovic, has legal organs of authority and courts which are duty-bound to separate such people from honest people so that we are then in a position to know whether people are looking for their rights because they are incited by nationalists or whether they do so because their rights are actually threatened.

In connection with Vrhovec's statement that all this is being concealed from this Central Committee and that as a result he was not in a position to take up the right stance, I am asking the Central Comittee Presidium: Will they refute Comrade Vrhovec's statement or will they take responsibility should his statement be accurate, asked Jovic. [passage omitted]

Jovic also referred to the speech by Kacusa Jasari. There is no possibility, either theoretical or practical, to refute the bare fact that realistically, legally, and also from the defacto point of view the Socialist Republic of Serbia is today broken up into three states. All the arguments concerning this were put forward publicly the other day, before the whole of Yugoslavia, in the Assembly of the SR of Serbia: and this assessment and all the facts that go with it were approved. It is immaterial to what extent this fact arose as a result of the 1974 Constitution, which was inadequate, ambiguous, and could not be carried out, or whether it emerged as a result of the situation stemming from the implementation of that Constitution up to the present. Therefore, one cannot refute the fact that the Serbian people have lost their single republic in peacetime.

There is no one who can explain or prove, Jovic went on to say, that this was the purpose of the objecive of the 1974 Constitution. No one either briefed the people on this idea or explained it to them, nor has this idea ever been accepted by the people. Accordingly, the present situation is illegal and for this reason is not only politically unacceptable, it is also illegal.

There are no reasons, either historic or otherwise, to divide the Serbian people into three sates politically, economically, legally, or in any other way. It is illegal from the legal point of view because Serbia never declared itself in favor of this, nor has it accepted such a solution. For this reason, this situation must be changed in a way which will overcome this situation.

It is simply impossible to maintain the existing situation, added Jovic, because it is impossible to preserve it against the wishes and interests of both the Serbian people and of other nations and nationalities living in the SR of Serbia. Therefore, changing the Constitution of the SR of Serbia is politically and socially inevitable. To underestimate the situation and to cling obstinately to

untenable positions would amount to unforgiveable political blindness with unforeseeably negative consequences for our entire community, said Jovic. [passage omitted]

Borislav Odadzic spoke in great detail about the funds which the Zrenjanin Municipality is setting aside to help Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Odadzic referred to the debate statement by Slobodan Milosevic, saying that he was not sure whether he had heard some of his stands. He said he referred to Milosevic's statement that no concessions will be made and that the anticipated changes to the Constitution would not be stopped. We wonder whether this is in keeping with the stands of the LCY conference and of the 13th congress. I believe, said Odadzic in conclusion, that should it be necessary, the Central Committee must have discussions on the changes to he SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of the SR of Serbia so that a constructive solution can be arrived at.

The Kosovo problem requires wise and proper moves to be made by all progressive forces. The nature of the Kosovo problem, in the past and now, is demonstrated by the fact that even after the ninth session we have not managed fully to stabilize the situation in the province, stressed Rahman Morina.

To underrate or to neglect any of the causes of the poor situation in Kosovo will be fatal for us, in Morina's view, regardless of the fact that Albanian nationalists are principally responsible. Time has come to go in for concrete and individual assessments, both on the work and the activity of the organs. When we say that Albanian nationalists are operating, we must say how, where, and in what way, etc. Priority goes to emigration and pressure—we know that, but emigration is not the consequence of Albanian nationalism alone. [passage omitted]

Morina said we must accept the fair criticism that the results of the internal affairs organs have not been exploited sufficiently for more offensive LCY activity and by all progressive forces to stabilize the situation. I think that the LC is taking some measures, but they are not yet adequate for political activity requirements. It is normal that importance should be attached to the work of the internal affairs organs and to the organs of the judiciary, but we are behaving as if the security organs alone will resolve the Kosovo problem for us, stressed Morina.

Replying to a question by Marko Orlandic concerning the assessment of the security situation in Kosovo, Marina said that Orlandic had been briefed through regular reports on our assessments and evaluations regarding the security situation. I can only add that the economic problems in Kosovo are not being resolved, that the social problems are even worse, and that the same applies to employment. There is indoctrination; Serbian nationalism is not being curbed; emigration goes on and national division and intranational relations are deteriorating. We have been and are curbing Albanian nationalism as strictly as we can. However, the problem is in the fact that it still exists, said Morina.

Marko Orlandic immediately got up to reply. He said that he is monitoring the security situation as much as he needs to for political activity. He stressed that he is 1 of 22 members of the Presidium of the Central Committee who have familiarized themselves more fully with the assessment of the security situation in Kosovo, which is essentially different from the assessment made today by Rahman Morina. It is not good for differences to appear on such a sensitive issue between the provincial and Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs or for essential differences also to appear on the same question between two members of the LCY Central Committee, though both are entrusted with monitoring some aspects of internal affairs. This ought to be clarified, Orlandic believes. He also said that he would be pleased if Rahman Morina's assessment were correct. However, differences in assessment exist, and for this reason the Central Committee ought to request that these assessments be discussed in a competent body of the federation.

In his reply, Morina said that there are no differences whatsoever on the assessment of the security situation in Kosovo between the provincial and Federal Secretariats for Internal Affairs, nor between the secretaries.

Mladen Djurin sought to intervene and turned to the discussion in which a request was made for the responsibility of Bosko Krunic and Kolj Siroka to be established. He believes that if responsibility is to be sought, then it should be sought at the Presidium. He recalled that at its previous session the Central Committee had adopted a report on the work of the Presidium and that this had been the time for the demands which are being made today. Djurin also analyzed the 1974 Constitution and said that its "peasant head" could not fully comprehend the present criticisms, when this Constitution had "dictated" equal conditions for both Vojvodina, Kosovo, the SR of Serbia, and other republics. If the Central Committee assesses that this Constitution is no good, no one in the Vojvodina Provincial LC Committee will obey it and they will vote to change it. But I wonder how, under such a bad Constitution, such a good security situation could have been maintained both in Vojvodina and in Yugoslavia for a decade and a half, Djuric said. [passage omitted]

The security of all citizens in Kosovo must be ensured by all the legal means of the state. If Serbia cannot do this, let the federation do it, Bogoljub Redzic said. He also spoke in favor of cadre renewal in Kosovo as well as the formation of a working group to monitor demographic trends and the elaboration of a program of population growth.

When we speak about emigration under duress and the injustices which are done to Serbs and Montenegrins, we must also say that no one thought of going into the homes of those whom the nationalists attacked, or of motivating Albanians to feel this act as if it had been done to them. The Albanian people are honest, but, they are afraid of their own bureaucracy. [passage omitted]

I was very stunned, Stojanovic said, a few months ago when I read that some comrades in the leadership of one of our provinces had publicly disputed the proposal that citizens from the province, in the framework of constitutional changes, be given criminal and legal protection at the Serbian Supreme Court as well. This was explained by the argument that in this case citizens from so-called Serbia proper would be unequal in relation to the citizens of the province, because the latter would have three-tier criminal and legal protection and the former only a two-tier one. [passage omitted]

Analyzing the speech by Borislav Jovic, Janko Drca called Jovic's assessment that the Serbian people had lost their state in peacetime unacceptable, at the least, and he added that not one LCY organ since 1974 had made such an assessment.

Drca also believes that Jovic's opinion that the 1974 Constitution was imposed by the Serbian people is untrue. Asking who gave him this idea, Drca observed that the 1974 Constitution was accepted as in a plebiscite throughout the country, which of course does not mean that all the constitutional solutions should be glorified.

The LC, Drca said, has never accepted the standpoint that people, as he put it, should be sullied, be called names and labelled in public, as was done today with Krunic and Siroka. One should dissociatte oneself from this, Drca stressed, expressing his conviction that it is not a matter of the realization of responsibility but "of something else". [passage omitted]

The causes of the slowness in stabilizing the situation in Kosovo, in Zajic's assessment, are inertia, insufficient mobility, and opportunism in the struggle against nationalist phenomena and tendencies. Opportunism, he stressed, has put down deep roots and has become part of everyday consciousness and behavior, something which blunts the awareness of and diminishes the LC's capacity for action.

Zajic believes that the primary task for the further stabilization of the situation in Kosovo is to activate and mobilize the Kosovo LC, an organization of 106,000 members. The overcoming of the situation and lasting stabilization can only be carried out by relying on progressive forces in Kosovo and on all the nationalities, above all the progressive forces and Communists of Albanian nationality.

In everyday action, Zajic said, it is vital to ensure that the methods of the struggle are appropriate to the dimensions, seriousness, and danger of the actions of nationalism and appropriate to the intensity with which a specific nationalism is expressed. This will facilitate the overcoming of differing views in relation to "one's own" and "alien" nationalisms or indeed the establishment of some artificial and untenable symmetries between nationalisms in Kosovo. The main thrust of action must continue to be against Albanian nationalism and separatism, which is continuing its organized illegal activity and is showing great stubbornness in its intention to persist in realizing its counterrevolutionary goals.

In view of the growing nationalist tendencies throughout the country, the success of the struggle against nationalism depends also on its uniformity and equality in all environments, Zajic noted. He also said that the state and atmosphere of intranational relations in Kosovo are additionally burdened by the operation of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism which skillfully manipulates real problems and the dissatisfaction of Serbian and Montenegrin citizens.

Speaking about the constitutional changes, he said that there should be more thought about how to unite people through public discussion so that people comprehend that the changes being proposed lead to more rapid common progress and to the more rapid development of society as a whole.

We concern ourselves too much with unacceptable views and stances and in this way we only create an atmosphere in which the constitutional changes are a "necessary evil." We are too frightened of equality, while in fact we want to maintain the status quo and not change the situation and relations in society, Zajic concluded.

To improve the political and security situation and to ensure complete constitutionality and legality in Kosovo, Remzi Koljgeci stressed, is our constant task from which we will not deviate. We are not always doing it in the best way. If we err, we are here to be held responsible, but the readiness of the cadres in Kosovo to put an end to emigration from the province once and for all must not be disputed. [passage omitted]

Pleading for the differences between the Serbo and Kosovo leaderships in interpreting the situation in the province to be overcome, Koljgeci said that no section of the LCY is entitled to proclaim itself as the one that knows what truth is. Efforts should be made to overcome the differences on constitutional changes.

In the Kosovo leadership, Koljgeci said, we stuck to the agreement and did not politicize the masses. Those who act differently do not contribute to all the issues being discussed democratically and constructively. Protesting against the facile name-calling of people from other environments, Koljgeci said in conclusion that the "blank" name-calling of Kolj Siroka today was not

alright, either. It is common knowledge what Kolj Siroka has done on the implementation of the conclusions of the Ninth Plenum of the LCY Central Committee. [passage omitted]

While not denying the assessments that specific results had been attained in implementing the conclusions of the ninth plenum on Kosovo, especially on pooling the labor and resources and on joint investments, Tomislav Radovic with an air of resignation, made the judgement that these and other results and efforts were devalued by the knowledge that virtually nothing had been done to carry out the priority tasks. [passage omitted]

We as the Central Committee have not passed the test on this particular task, and the responsibility is inevitable, stressed Radovic. He wondered why we were afraid of the people being singled out by name if the reason for doing that is based on established facts. This is why he suggested that the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee establish its own collective responsibility as well as the individual responsibility of its members, and to brief the LCY Central Committee on it at its first next session. In Radovic's view, that would constitute a real contribution to implementing the process of cadre renewal and consolidating the unity of the LC.

After being given the floor again, Azem Vlasi replied to some observations made during the discussion concerning his statement. In my speech, he stressed, I did not, as Dusan Ckrebic believes, say that Kosovo cannot be treated as a special zone or a special problem. This was, in fact, he continued, only one part of my sentence which taken as a whole was: Kosovo cannot be treated in that sense as a special zone or as a special problem requiring other means, methods, or model of measures and actions which are outside our system of socialist self-management and LCY policy. Vlasi also stressed that he did not agree with the evaluation made by Bogdan Trifunovic who, replying to a sentence made in his speech, said that some Kosovo senior officials speak of Albanian separatist nationalism using strong words but speaking generically while at the same time they speak of the single-nation meetings and protests by the Serbs and Montenegrins as being virtually the main problem.

The situation is truly a difficult one, but unfortunately there are still differences between us. They can be overcome only through a democratic dialogue. The method of singling out people by name and of passing judgments does not lead anywhere, said Josip Vrhovec in his reply to Borisav Jovic.

The level of Jovic's polemics was such, Vrhovec recalled at the beginning, that first of all I did not want to ask to speak again. I am doing that because of the public, before whom this session is being held.

Vrhovec first censured Jovic for having taken parts of sentences out of context from his speech in order to produce his own antithesis while in some instances, he said, he added something I did not say at all.

Vrhovec replied to Jovic's "antithesis" by quoting party and SFRY Presidency documents.

Vrhovec replied to Jovic's condemnation that he had claimed that the Serb and Montenegrin peoples in Kosovo are manipulated by the nationalists by quoting a document by the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee which calls for "persistent struggle to clearly differentiate between justified demands and protests and nationalistic manipulations and subterfuges."

Regarding Jovic's question as to what the SFRY Presidency, and therefore also Vrhovec, has done to have these well organized and dangerous enemies arrested, Vrhovec said that this was not a matter for the Presidency but for the appropriate organs in the environments where these things are happening.

Vrhovec went on to say that the statement—attributed to him—that the assessments by the security organs were "concealed" by the Presidium from the Central Committee was not made by him.

Regarding Jovic's claim that Vrhovec's assesments of the activity of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo could not be accepted with understanding, Vrhovec said that he was providing an assessment on the activities of Serb and Montenegrin nationalists and not the assessments of the activities of the members of the Serb and Montenegrin peoples in Kosovo.

Asking to be given the floor again in order to reply to Josip Vrhovec, Borisav Jovic read a section of Vrhovec's statement stressing that he still stuck to his assessment.

It transpires that the activity of the Serb and Montenegrin peoples is today equated with the counterrevolution in Kosovo and that the Serb and Montenegrin peoples are manipulated by Serb nationalists, just as Albanian nationalists and separatists had tried to manipulate the Albanian people. I cannot accept this thesis, stressed Jovic.

However, I do accept the assessments by the LC of Serbia that Serb nationalists are trying to abuse this situation, to impose themselves as the leaders; the LC is not allowing them to do that and as a result they have been pushed to the sidelines.

Accordingly, all Vrhovec's attempts to show with the quotations from the LC documents that he supports these documents prove the opposite because nothing he has said matches what he has previously stated here.

Nothing is further from my mind, Jovic continued, than to protect Serb and Montenegrin nationalists. What I want to do is to protect the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples from being accused of being incapable of thinking of their own interests, of fighting for their interests and that they need some nationalists who will lead them.

Vrhovec said that the security service reports suggest that we are facing a well-organized and dangerous enemy activity. Very well then, if he now says that appropriate organs in the field should deal with that, should the Yugoslav Presidency be indifferent if this is not happening?

Jovic said that he accurately quoted Vrhovec and that he was not satisfied with his answer. Besides, he added, let the public judge that.

The floor was then given to Vasil Tupurkovski, the rapporteur of the working group for the drafting of the proposed direct tasks on implementing the conclusions of the Ninth Session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo. He stressed that the working group was guided by the supposition that the conclusions of the ninth session were of a lasting nature and that it therefore accepted all the proposals that led to making further tasks more precise.

Some proposals to improve the text of immediate tasks were submitted also after Tupurkovski's statement.

Marko Orlandic, too, asked to speak. He stressed that he did not recall a session during which greater differences had been manifested than at this one. In his opinion, specific conclusions must be drawn from that. Let us analyze the differences manifested both between the Central Committee members and between the members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. It would be shortsighted and irresponsible to gloss over these things, said Orlandic. We must tell the Yugoslav public who watched and listened to us—and perhaps there are individuals who do so in the small hours of the day—what the solution is. I am sure that we cannot leave this item on the agenda as it is. Conclusions must be drawn on how to go forward and whether, given so many differences within the Presidium of the Central Committee, a guarantee can be given that we will successfully operate on implementing the established policy and the decisions of the 13th congress and the LCY conference. In the present situation I am not prepared to take on further commitments, said Orlandic in conclusion.

The Central Committee then unanimously adopted the direct tasks.

In the concluding speech, Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, said that the discussion was exhausting and at times polemical, but it had produced an unusually small number of proposals of what to do and how to go on working. [passage omitted]

Petar Matic supported the proposal that everything that happened in connection with this problem should be examined in detail in September. However, this Central Committee, in his opinion, should not end its work before it had made clear its views on the charges which were made recently in public against individual people. Specific people, Krunic and myself for example, have been been spoken of as ideologues of separatism and destroyers of unity. If any of that is true, even parts of it, said Matic, then this Central Committee cannot accept that such people be in its ranks.

I expected the Presidium to propose to the Central Committee that it decide whether such charges [words indistinct]. This would not prejudice the discussion planned for September. If this is not done it will mean that the Central Committee accepts that such models for discussion between Communists and forms of democracy be offered to us. This is a question, Matic pointed out, of the most outrageous accusations, and the people who are affected should not have to defend themselves alone.

Nikola Jovanovic reacted to this with the opinion that the Central Committee at this session should not begin a discussion about, nor dissociate itself from things demanding comprehensive consideration. The speeches of the people concerned, in his opinion, should be looked at. The judgements and theses of the LCY Central Committee Presidium should be accepted, and the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee should be left to establish responsibility.

What is unavoidable for us, Stipe Suvar said, is not so much the establishing of responsibility a priori, but rather an analysis of the behavior of those members of our Central Committee who were involved in these confrontations and who were at the same time exposed to criticism. This matter should be cleared up, and then people should either be called to account or protected.

If someone publicly calls a member of the LC Central Committee a traitor to socialism and the people and a fifth columnist, I cannot accept that the Central Committee hesitate in condemning such epithets and slanders. I have nothing against a working group of the Central Committee being formed as well, but I really do not believe that working groups are necessary to the Central Committee to condemn slander against its members, said Bosko Krunic. Stipe Suvar immediately reacted by making the proposal, which was later adopted, that the LCY Central Committee should condemn the crude slanders in which individual members had been called traitors and fifth columnists.

Following this, Dusan Dragosavac suggested that a thesis should be adopted on incriminating declarations made by individual members of the Central Committee, and

said that a discussion should be begun at a session of the LCY Central Committee in September on the situation in the country, the leadership, our relations, and the culture of dialogue.

Dragosavac noted that the judgements and theses of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in connection with the journey of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo to Novi Sad were being interpeted and applied in various ways, and this had led to great problems. We are aware that, not just on this occasion, an unfavorable public opinion has been created. An uncivilized struggle is being conducted, he said, between the members of the LC and its leaders. For this reason the Central Committee must have all the information in order to make the right decisions.

Milovan Sogorov was of the opinion that the judgements and theses of the LCY Central Committee Presidium should be accepted, but that a discussion in September was essential. He said that it was not good that the Central Committee accepted the point of view that those who had been accused were responsible just because of this. He called for the Presidium rather than a working group to establish the facts surrounding the unreasoned accusations and labeling, from which the Central Committee, he stressed, must dissociate itself.

Clearly with feeling, Vidoje Zarkovic rose to speak, and noted that the Presidium in its stances had made very serious judgements of what had occurred, on the conflict within the LC which had erupted, broken out like a real political war between the Vojvodina LC and the Serbian LC, or rather within the Serbian LC of which the provincial organizations were a part. Never in the history of the party have we had such a drastic conflict within the party in public.

At a time when we have a difficult economic situation, when we are reforming the economic system, we have now spent 15 days on a conflict which should never have arisen, stressed Zarkovic. He recalled that the LCY Central Committee Presidium theses stated that the basic LC organizations in the media should establish responsibility for individual articles, and that the Central Committee should establish the responsibility of those members who had contributed to that situation. We speak a great deal about responsibility and this is an occasion to really say something about this, said Zarkovic, calling for the formation of a working group.

This evening, said Zarkovic, the Central Committee should say which of the members of the LCY Central Committee contributed to all this and in what way they did this. This must be said to the LC membership and to the nation, because we cannot pass over this silently as though we were all guilty and none were guilty.

In some ways, continued Zarkovic, we find ourselves in a situation such as the one which characterized the Cultural Revolution in China, so that now all our legal institutions are being proclaimed to be bureaucracy. This is inaccurate since bureaucracy is a social attitude, the behavior of an individual. We have created a situation where anyone can drag anyone's name through the mud without being called to account, where untruths and slanders can be advanced. I think that we should disassociate ourselves from serious accusations at the expense of Central Committee members, and if they have, through their actions, contributed to a certain dissatisfaction, then this should be examined by a working group.

The Central Committee then unanimously adopted the assessments and stances of its Presidium on activities in connection with the trip by Serb and Montenegrin citizens to Novi Sad and the protest there on 9 July.

The Central Committee then ratified a change in its composition and in the composition of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. This concerned Abdulah Mutapcic, the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, who by virtue of his post has become a member of the Central Committee and its Presidium.

In connection with this item on the agenda, the resignation of Radovan Radonjic as a member of the Central Committee was also considered. Bearing in mind the demands of some LC organizations from Montenegro and the fact that Radonjic is necessary to the Central Committee, Stipe Suvar, presiding, proposed that his resignation should not be accepted. At the same time, he expressed the conviction that, Radonjic would abide by this decision.

Radonjic reacted to this by saying that he had offered his resignation out of principle and that it had been in the interests of finding a way out of the situation into which the Central Committee has fallen. What is basic is that I feel guilty for the nonimplementation of duties which were put before me by the 13th LCY Congress. For this reason, I wish to give up my place to someone who will be able to accomplish these tasks, he said.

This is an issue which rises above the case of an individual. I wish to persevere with the application of sanctions against myself and in setting a personal example, in order to prove that I belong to an organization of moral people. If the Central Committee does not accept my reasons, I will not gain anything but the Central Committee will lose, said Radonjic.

In the end Radonjic nevertheless had to abide by the decision of the Central Committee that he should remain in its ranks.

With this the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee ended.